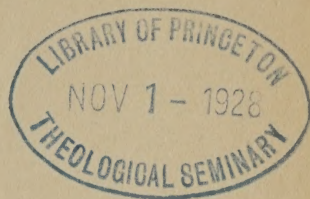


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CHRIST'S ONE SACRIFICE IN ITS THREEFOLD MODE



DISSERTATION

*Submitted to the Faculty of the Sacred Sciences at the
Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Doctorate in
Sacred Theology*

BY
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OF THE PROVINCE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	PAGE 5
--------------	-----------

SECTION I

DESCRIPTION OF SACRIFICE

Preliminary or Method to be Pursued.....	9
CHAPTER I. MOSAIC SACRIFICES.....	12
Art. I. Bloody Sacrifices.....	12
1. Holocausts.....	12
2. Peace Offerings.....	13
3. Sin Offerings.....	14
4. Guilt Offerings.....	14
Art. II. Unbloody Sacrifices.....	15
CHAPTER II. CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF SACRIFICE.....	16
Art. I. Sacrificial Gift.....	16
Art. II. Sacrificing Minister.....	17
Art. III. Sacrificial Action.....	18
1. Bringing Forward of Victim.....	19
2. Imposition of Hands.....	19
3. Slaying of Victim.....	22
4. Sprinkling of Blood.....	24
5. Consumption of Victim's Flesh.....	25
Art. IV. Synthetic Definition of Sacrifice.....	26

SECTION II

CALVARY

CHAPTER I. SOME MODERN VIEWS.....	27
CHAPTER II. DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH CONCERNING CALVARY.....	42
Art. I. Conciliar Declarations.....	42
Art. II. Scriptural Proofs.....	44
1. Old Testament.....	44
2. New Testament.....	45
A. Testimony of St. Paul.....	45
B. Testimony of St. John.....	52
C. Testimony of St. Peter.....	53
D. Testimony of the Gospels.....	54
Art. III. Patristic Proofs.....	56
CHAPTER III. ESSENCE OF THE SACRIFICE OF CALVARY.....	63

SECTION III

THE LAST SUPPER

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.....	67
Art. I. Statement of the Catholic View.....	67
Art. II. Summary of Non-Catholic Views.....	69
CHAPTER II. SACRIFICIAL CHARACTER OF THE LAST SUPPER.....	74
Art. I. Scripture.....	74
Art. II. Tradition.....	84
Art. III. The Council of Trent.....	97
1. History of the Tridentine Definition.....	98
2. Tenor of the Tridentine Definition.....	107
Art. IV. Analogous Argument from the Sacraments.....	114
CHAPTER III. REFUTATION OF OBJECTIONS.....	121
Art. I. First Objection: Calvary Supererogatory.....	121
Art. II. Second Objection: Time-element.....	126

SECTION IV

THE MASS

CHAPTER I. THE THEORY OF APPARENTLY REAL DESTRUCTION.....	133
Art. I. Consecration and Communion the Sacrificial Action.....	133
Art. II. Consecration the Formal Constituent of the Sacrificial Action.....	135
Art. III. Communion the Material Constituent of the Sacrificial Action	137
CHAPTER II. HOW THE NEW TESTAMENT SACRIFICE IS ONE.....	144
Art. I. One Sacrificial Victim.....	144
Art. II. One Sacrificing Minister.....	145
Art. III. One Sacrificial Action.....	146
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	151

PREFACE

In the early days of Christianity St. Peter warned the Christians to be ready at all times to give an account and a reason for the hope that was in them.¹ And St. Paul insisted that the Christian worship be a "reasonable service."² What these two great Apostles advised when the Church was still in its infancy, holds equally well today; a fact which modern theologians, it is pleasing to note, seem to realize fully. In current theological circles, in general, there are unmistakable manifestations of a marked and progressive movement in the discussion, for instance, of speculative questions, which is plainly indicative of the "faith that seeketh understanding." In short, there seems to be an increasing desire for a fuller and more comprehensive knowledge of such religious questions, and a deeper insight into the mysteries of Christian faith.

Among these holy mysteries, there is one that has ever been regarded as the central and most dramatic action of all Christian worship; it is the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. It was the center of religious worship in the beginning; it is so today. Then, as now, it was the very soul of religious life, and the most distinctive of Catholic doctrines, since it is an offering of God, by God, to God. It is, moreover, one of those "divine mysteries, which by their very nature so far transcend created intelligence, that though divinely revealed to us and accepted on faith, they yet remain hidden to our eyes by the veil of this very faith, and enveloped in a certain obscurity, as long as we are pilgrims in this mortal life, at a distance from God. Yet reason, enlightened by Faith, if it enquire diligently, devoutly, and prudently, may with the assistance of God obtain a certain and, at the same time, a very profitable insight into these mysteries," and consequently, into the mystery of the Sacrifice of the Mass.³

When the Church solemnly and formally declared in the Council of Trent that in Holy Mass "a true and real sacrifice" is offered to the Triune God,⁴ this fact automatically became an indisputable article of faith. But a conciliar definition of this kind merely proved the reality of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. It in

¹ Cf. I Pet., III, 15.

² Cf. Rom., XII, 1.

³ Vatican. constit. de Fide, cap. 4.

⁴ Conc. Trid. Sess. XXII, can. 1.

no way attempted to explain the extremely difficult theological questions of *how* the Mass is a true sacrifice, and *how* it is *one* with the Sacrifice of the Cross, without derogating from the value and dignity of Calvary. This is only natural since no scientific definition is usually expected from a council. Questions of such a delicate nature are invariably left open to theological discussion and concerning them every one is at perfect liberty to follow his own cherished opinion; provided, however, that it remain always within the proper bounds of recognized orthodoxy. In consequence of this, theory after theory was advanced by accredited theologians in an effort to remove the veil of obscurity which has ever enshrouded this sublime "mystery of faith." But the result of this laudable inquisitiveness merely shows the general dissatisfaction connected with such theories and explanations. This fact is doubly certain when we consider that even today the discussion of the Eucharistic Sacrifice is a live issue in theological circles and offers not a few opportunities for serious study and sober speculation on the various questions which are naturally associated with it. Apropos of this, Dr. Bruehl, in a recent issue of the *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, remarks that, "those who imagine that everything in Dogmatic Theology is cut and dried, and that there is no longer any opportunity for the exercise of individual judgment and the keenest dialectical ability, need only to follow the recently inaugurated and lively conducted controversy on the nature of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and its relation to the Bloody Sacrifice of the Cross, to be thoroughly disabused of their erroneous impression, and to realize that Theology is not a matter of stereotyped conclusions transmitted from generation to generation without any original mental work; on the contrary, it is a living and growing science rivalling any other science in the vivid interest and the sharpness of its intellectual battles. No other science brings to bear on its moot problems greater earnestness, finer powers of analysis, and subtler logical acumen. Any one desirous of an intellectual thrill will do well to take notice of this highly interesting controversy, carried on with so much skill and agitated not without the infusion of considerable measure of temperament."⁵

This active and renewed interest in these particular features of

⁵ C. Bruehl, *The Relation between the Last Supper and Calvary*, in *The Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, May, 1927, p. 908.

the Eucharistic Sacrifice is to be traced, undoubtedly, to the appearance of Fr. De la Taille's now famous and widely quoted book, entitled *Mysterium Fidei*, published in 1921.⁶ In this monumental and erudite work, the distinguished author advocates what has since been termed a novel theory,⁷ although not a few scholars of note and of ecclesiastical dignity have given it their unqualified approval and recommendation. The theory combines an ingenious attempt to reconcile previous conflicting views on the metaphysical essence, with a commendable effort to account for the numeric unity of the New Testament Sacrifice. However, even in the early stages of this paper, we take the liberty of stating, that after a careful perusal and sober study of this theory which was so recently popularized by Fr. De la Taille, we feel constrained to conclude, that even this has failed utterly to bring us any nearer to a definite solution of the intricate and vexing problems which the learned author set out to solve. In point of fact, we may even venture to say, that it removes us still further from the traditional view authoritatively summarized and officially promulgated by Trent in its conciliar definitions.

In view, then, of the insufficiency of all the theories pertinent to the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass, and mindful of the keen interest manifested in these important speculative questions, it will be our immediate aim to arrive at what, in our estimation, will be a satisfactory solution. The problems we intend to treat of, therefore, will concern themselves chiefly with the formal constituent or the determining element of the essence of the Mass, and subsequently the unity of the New Testament Sacrifice, inasmuch as these ideas are inextricably blended together. In our everyday parlance, we are accustomed to speak of the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass as sacrifices, but then the doubt naturally arises—have we not more than one sacrifice? And then, too, is the Last Supper a true and complete sacrifice in itself; and if it is, what makes it such? This question is of the

⁶ *Mysterium Fidei*, Auctore Mauritio de la Taille, S. J., Gabriel Beauchesne, Paris, 1921. A second edition of this work appeared as early as 1924.

⁷ Vide an article by Fr. McNabb in *Blackfriars*, Sept., 1923, p. 1086; also a letter in *Blackfriars*, Jan., 1925, p. 50; and two articles by Fr. Swaby, one of which appeared in the *Am. Eccl. Review*, Nov., 1923, p. 460, and the other in *Blackfriars*, Feb., 1925, p. 85. In all these articles, reference is made to this theory as a 'new theory.' To us, however, this does not seem to be quite correct, for as far as we have been able to ascertain, all its *essential elements* find clear-cut expression in Fr. Traversa's book entitled *De Eucharistico Sacrificio* which was published in Turin in 1897.

utmost importance; for the tendency of a theory recently revived and very much in vogue at present, is to so belittle the sacrificial character of the Last Supper that it can no longer be rightly considered the first complete enactment of the Mass, but merely a component part of Christ's one sacrifice begun in the Last Supper and completed on the Cross. Therefore, in our effort to disprove any theory of this nature, and at the same time to solve the metaphysical problems connected with Christ's one sacrifice, we shall begin in the first section of our paper by endeavoring to arrive at the fundamental concept necessarily involved in every true and proper sacrifice. In the second and third sections we shall verify our synthetic definition of sacrifice by applying it to the sacrifices of Calvary and the Last Supper respectively. In this manner we shall have proved that each of these acts is, in, and by itself, a complete sacrifice, though the Last Supper (and, *a fortiori*, the Mass) is intrinsically related to Calvary. In the fourth and last section we shall treat of the sacrificial action of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and then determine how many sacrifices there are in the New Law; that is, whether there are one, two, or perhaps three, or even more. Such then, in brief, is the nature and purpose of this paper.

SECTION I

DESCRIPTION OF SACRIFICE

Preliminary or Method to be Pursued

In discussing what he thinks is the method best suited to obtain the fundamental concept involved in *sacrifice*, Bishop Bellord, in an article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, writes: "In order to arrive at a correct estimate of any institution of great antiquity that has been gradually developing from the first, it is necessary to trace it back through all its primitive and barbarous beginnings, to inquire what it consisted of and how it worked, and what additions have been made to it, and how much has been dropped from it. No detail is so rude or so distorted as to be without its use in interpreting the beliefs, laws, rights, or customs of the nations of the present world. The historical method applied to theological speculation has given us certain facilities that the most acute and cultivated minds did not possess."¹ In certain instances, this reflection of the Bishop may be quite true, but its application in this particular case to the scholastic notion of sacrifice hardly seems admissible here.² For although sacrifice finds its response in the very nature of man, as St. Thomas rightly observes,³ still it is at the same time based on a positive divine ordinance. This fact alone should be sufficient to lead us to search for its essential note not so much amongst the primitive races of mankind, who lived under the law of nature, as amongst those who have best preserved in their integral form, the positive precepts of God. Since sacrifice is the supreme act of public worship, its true idea, therefore, is naturally to be sought amongst people who have worshipped the one true God under a Law supernaturally instituted and promulgated by Him. This particular people was the Jewish nation. God, through Moses, gave the Jews a theocratic law, the very essence of which consists of ritualistic prescriptions that regulated in the minutest detail all that belongs to sacrifice. In this inspired ritual, the

¹ Bellord, *The Notion of Sacrifice*, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 2. Philadelphia, Dolphin Press, 1905.

² Cf. A. Lehmkuhl, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, *Ibid.*, p. 612 ff.; C. J. Cronin, *Ibid.*, p. 378; Coghlan, *De ss. Eucharistia*, p. 421, Dublin, 1913; H. Lamiroy, *De Essentia ss. Missae Sacrificii*, p. 43 ff., Louvain, 1919.

³ *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, p. 85, a. I, c.

Book of Leviticus, may be found the entire Jewish sacrificial legislation as determined specifically by positive divine law. In other words, it contains God's own idea of sacrifice as formulated by Himself. Such being the case, this must necessarily be the best, if not the only reliable source, whence we may derive a correct concept and an adequate knowledge of the notion and the constituent elements of sacrifice.⁴ This method is by no means novel; for it is the very same as that which was adopted by the New Testament writers themselves. For instance, when they speak of the Sacrifice of Christ, they merely give us dogmatic statements, without directly attempting to reveal the essence of the sacrifice itself. In Apostolic times, explanations of this kind would have been entirely superfluous; since the essentials of sacrifice, which were well known to the Jews, had not undergone any fundamental change. Furthermore, the Mosaic sacrifices were types or adumbrations of the great Anti-type in the New Law wherein they received their literal fulfilment. And so when the hagiographers spoke of Christ's sacrifice, it is no more than natural that they should have described it from a strictly Jewish standpoint, illustrating it with striking comparisons drawn from the sacrifices of the Old Testament;⁵ a fact which is also borne out in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists.⁶ For this added reason, we shall presently direct our attention to a brief consideration of the Mosaic sacrifices; in order subsequently, to be in a position to determine with exactitude, what the elements are that give a thing or an action, the nature and character of a sacrifice. Having once

⁴ Cf. Gaston Rabeau, in an article entitled *Les matériaux du Raisonnement Théologique*, in the *Revue Thomiste*, t. IX, n. 37, pp. 41, 42, 1926; cf. also Bishop MacDonald in *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, ch. 1, London, 1924.

⁵ Cf. I Cor., V, 7; Eph., V, 2; II Cor., V, 21; Rom., III, 24-25.—Prat, *La Théologie de Saint Paul*, I, p. 283, Paris, 1909, and II, p. 266, Paris, 1912; Heb., IX, 3-8; 12-14; 24-28; X, 1-4, etc.—Cf. Laminne, *La Rédemption. Étude dogmatique*, pp. 203 ff., Brussels, 1911; I Pet., 1, 2, 18; John, I, 29; XIX, 36; I John, 1, 7; II, 2; IV, 10; Apoc., I, 5; V, 6, 12; VII, 14; XIII, 8.

⁶ For patristic passages cf. Hugon, *Le Mystère de la Rédemption*, pp. 126 ff., Paris, 1910; cf. also Laminne, *o. c.* pp. 191 ff.: "Si l'Écriture sainte et principalement l'Épître aux Hébreux enseigne que la mort du Christ a été un sacrifice offert à Dieu, le sens de cette doctrine est évidemment déterminé par la signification que cet mot avait dans la religion d'Israël." For authors less inclined to admit the applicability of Jewish sacrificial terminology to the sacrifice of Redemption cf. Riviere, *Le dogme de la Rédemption.—Étude théologique*, pp. 202 ff.; also his article in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, t., XIII, pp. 5-32, Paris, 1911; Delporte, *Les principes de la typologie biblique et les éléments figuratifs du Sacrifice de l'Expiation (Lev.)*, in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, III, 3, Louvain, July, 1926, pp. 307-327.

ascertained what these elements are, we shall apply them to the Sacrifice of the New Testament in its threefold mode. By adopting this *a posteriori* method, we shall avoid what Bishop Bellord rightly condemned of a number of the older theologians: "An erroneous definition of sacrifice was assumed; a false standard or test was established; on this basis various theories were built up; these would not harmonize with one another; and hence we have so many and such unconvincing explanations of the mysteries of Calvary and the Mass."⁷ This criticism of the Bishop finds reflection in the writings of Bishop MacDonald when he speaks of the reason for the existence of so many and such conflicting definitions of sacrifice. Thus says the learned Bishop: "There could scarce be a more signal instance of the fallacy of begging the question than is involved in these definitions. They are simply made to order. The Mass is proved to be a real sacrifice by means of a definition into which there has been quietly smuggled the notion that there is no need of a real destruction of the victim."⁸

⁷ *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, XXXIII, p. 3.

⁸ Cf. *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, XLV, p. 179; *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, by the same author, p. 84; Cf. also Hedley, *La sainte Eucharistie* (trans. by A. Roudière), p. 195 ff., Paris, 1908; J. Traversa, *De Eucharistico Sacrificio*, Turin, 1897.

CHAPTER I

MOsaIC SACRIFICES

When we investigate the sacrificial ceremonial of the Old Law, we find that the term for sacrifice was originally *minchah* (מִנְחָה; Sept., ἀναφορά, *donum*, gift), or *korban* (קָרְבָּן), that is, oblation or offering.¹ In the course of time, however, we see that this generic term assumed a more specific character. It was used exclusively to designate the category of sacrifices known as *unbloody food-offerings* or *sacrifices* in contradistinction to the *bloody sacrifices* (זֶבַח, *zabah*, θυσία, *mactatio* or *victima*).² Of these two major classes, the latter was undoubtedly the more important and therefore must be assigned the first place. The unbloody sacrifice was merely secondary, and, so to speak, supplementary to the bloody sacrifice.

ARTICLE I

BLOODY SACRIFICES

There were four kinds of bloody sacrifice, namely: (1) the *Holocaust* or *Burnt Offering*; (2) the *Peace Offering*; (3) the *Sin Offering*; (4) the *Guilt Offering*.

I. *Holocausts*

Chief amongst the bloody sacrifices is the burnt offering, which is the oldest, most frequent and most wide-spread of them all.³ It is also called the *holocaust* (כָּלִיל, *kalil*; Sept., ὀλοκαύτωμα or ὀλοκάρπωμα), and the *ascent sacrifice* (עֹלָה, '*olah*'),⁴ because the whole victim, with the exception of the hip muscle and the hide, which was reserved for the priests, is made through fire to ascend to God in smoke and vapor.⁵ As the "ever enduring" sacrifice,

¹ This term goes as far back as Gen., IV, 4: "And the Lord had respect to Abel, and to his offerings"; I Kgs. (I Sam.), II, 17, etc.

² Cf. Knabenbauer, *Comment. in Proph. Minor.*, II, p. 430 ff., Paris, 1886; Also Thalhofer, *Die unblutigen Opfer des Mosaichen Kultus*, Regensburg, 1848.

³ Cf. Gen., IV, 4; VIII, 20; 2 ff., Job, I, 5; XLII, 8.

⁴ For the dispute regarding the exact and original meaning of the roots עֹלָה, and כָּלִיל, cf. Lagrange in *Études sur les religions semitiques*, p. 472, Paris, 1905.

⁵ Cf. Lev., I, 6; VII, 8.

(עֹלָה תָּמִיד) it was the latreutic sacrifice *par excellence*,⁶ and as such included within itself all the other species of sacrifice. Such being the case it necessarily contained the idea of expiation even though this was not its predominant note, since the complete destruction by fire of the sacrificial victim was to convey principally the idea of man's absolute submission to God. Besides this, it was, beyond the least doubt, the most important of all the sacrifices; in point of fact, it was the very center of the whole Jewish worship.⁷

2. Peace Offerings

The second class of bloody sacrifices embraced the *peace offerings* (שְׁלָמִים, *shelem*, or זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים, *zebah shelamim*; Sept., εἰρηγενή θυσία; *victima pacifica*, or θυσία σωτηρίου, *hostia pacificorum*). These were subdivided into three distinct categories, namely: 1) the sacrifice of thanks or praise (זֶבַח תּוֹדָה), *zebah todah*, θυσία χαρμυσίνης, *hostia pro gratiarum actione*; 2) the sacrifice in fulfilment of a vow (נֶדֶב, *neder*, εὐχή, *voto*); and 3) the sacrifice of impetration (נִדְבָה, *nedabah*, ἐκούσιον, *sponte*).⁸ The material and manner of offering this form of sacrifice were likewise specifically determined with the same scrupulous exactitude as were the prescriptions regulating the holocausts.⁹ Its nature was preeminently that of thanksgiving or petition,¹⁰ while its distinguishing feature or specific characteristic was the communal meal. At this repast the offerer, together with his friends, assembled on the same day for the express purpose of consuming within the sanctuary, the portions of flesh which had remained after the sacrifice.¹¹ This idea of sacrifice is founded on divine

⁶ Cf. Lev., VI, 12-16 (Heb. 5-9); Num., XXVIII, 3-4. In assigning the reason for the institution of this form of sacrifice, St. Thomas says: "Offerebatur Deo specialiter ad reverentiam majestatis ipsius et bonitatis ejus, et ideo totum comburebatur ut, sicut totum animal resolutum in vaporem sursum ascendebat, ita etiam significaretur hominem et omnia quae ipsius sunt, Dei dominio esse subjecta et esse offerenda."—*Sum Theol.*, I-II, q. 102, a. 3 ad 8.

⁷ Cf. Dan., VIII, 2 ff.; XI, 31; XII, 2; Esd. (Neh.), X, 33 (neb. 34).

⁸ Cf. Lev., VII, 12-16; XXII, 29; II Kgs., VI, 17; III Kgs., VIII, 63; II Par., XXX, 22, etc.

⁹ Cf. Lev., III, 1-12, 16b, 17.

¹⁰ "Hostia pacifica offerebatur Deo vel pro gratiarum actione vel pro salute et prosperitate offerentium, ex debito beneficii vel accipiendi vel accepti. Et ista dividebatur in tres partes; nam una pars incendebatur in honorem Dei, alia pars cedebat in usum sacerdotum, tertio vero pars in usum offerentium, ad significandum quod salus hominis procedit a Deo dirigentibus ministris Dei, et co-operantibus ipsis hominibus qui salvantur."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, I-II, q. 102, a. 3, ad 8.

¹¹ Cf. Lev., III, 11 ff.; XIX, 5 ff.; Deut., XII, 7, 17.

friendship and on participation of the divine table, inasmuch as the offerers, as guests and table companions, were partakers, to a certain extent, in the sacrifice offered to the Lord.¹²

3. Sin Offerings

A third species of the bloody sacrifice is that of the *sin offering* (חטאת, *chattah*; Sept., ἀμαρτία or περὶ ἀμαρτίας; *sacrificium pro peccato*). According to the Law it did not avail for the expiation of all ethical delinquencies,¹³ but merely for the misdeeds committed through ignorance, hastiness or inadvertence, with regard, for instance, to all cases of serious ceremonial defilements. Its rites were regulated not so much by the quality and gravity of the transgression as by the class of persons for whom this expiatory offering was to be made. On this account, there were various ritual prescriptions which differed accordingly as the sacrifice was to be offered for the faults of the high priest, the prince of a tribe, the whole people, or even individual Israelites.¹⁴

4. Guilt Offerings

The fourth and last species of the bloody sacrifice was the so-called *guilt offering* (עֲוֹן, *asham*; πλημμελεία or τὸ ὑπὲρ αἰγνοίας; *sacrificium pro peccato*). This kind of sacrifice was scarcely discernible from the sin offering, save for the fact that, it was specially appointed for sins and transgressions which postulated restitution for injury done, whereas the latter was concerned chiefly with the absolution of the person from sin.¹⁵ It was to be offered whenever, through ignorance, the rights or material interests of a third party were infringed upon, as for instance, by misappropriating gifts, defrauding one's neighbor, retaining the property of another, etc.¹⁶

¹² Cf. Pohle's article on *Sacrifice* in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, p. 315; also Wilhelm and Scannell's *Manual of Catholic Theology*, II, p. 452 New York, 1899.

¹³ For the various crimes excluded from expiation by this sacrifice, cf. Gen., XVI, 14; Ex., XXXI, 14; Lev., VII, 26 ff.; XXIII, 21; XXIV, 16; Num., IX, 2 ff.; XV, 30 ff.

¹⁴ Cf. Lev., IV, 1-12, 23, 28; V, 6, 7, 11 ff.; VI, 18 ff.; XII, 6; XIV, 6, 22; XV, 14, 29; XVI, 3.

¹⁵ Sins committed out of contempt or malice were punishable by death, according to Num., XV, 30, 31.—Cf. Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, III, IX, 3) for the distinction between sin and guilt according to the Jewish mentality.

¹⁶ Cf. Lev., V, 15 ff.; VI, 2 ff.; VII, 1, 2b-5a, 6a, 7; Num., V, 6-8.

ARTICLE II

UNBLOODY SACRIFICES

In contradistinction to the bloody sacrifice, the Jews, moreover, had the so-called *unbloody sacrifice* (מִנְחָה; δῶρον, προσφορά, *oblatio*); concerning the minutest details of which, the Law also laid down the most precise instructions.¹⁷ They were not infrequently joined with the holocaust or the peace offering,¹⁸ and also with the "perpetual holocaust" (עֹלָה תָּמִיד) of the high-priest.¹⁹ In such instances they were regarded as subsidiary sacrifices. But in case of poverty they could even be offered in place of, and entirely independent of, the bloody sacrifices. Moreover, we sometimes find libations of oil and wine (נֶסֶךְ σπονδεῖον; *libamen*)²⁰ as an integral portion of this kind of sacrifice. These libations, however, were never offered as independent sacrifices.

¹⁷ Cf. Lev., II, 1 ff.

¹⁸ Cf. Num., XV, 3-5; also Num., 6 ff. and 12 ff.

¹⁹ Cf. Lev., VI, 20, 21a (Heb. 13, 14a).

²⁰ Cf. Gen., XXXV, 14; Num., XXVIII, 7, 14.

CHAPTER II

CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS OF SACRIFICE

The description of the Jewish sacrificial system, as expressly given in the Mosaic Code, naturally leads us to inquire into the essential characteristics or constitutive elements of that action round which the entire rite revolves, and which, properly speaking, is called sacrifice.¹ These elements are three, namely: a sacrificial gift (*objectum*), a sacrificing minister (*subjectum*), and a sacrificial action (*ratio formalis*).

ARTICLE I

SACRIFICIAL GIFT

The first element that we find in the Jewish sacrifice is a sacrificial gift. Its necessity appears evident from the fact that there can be no offering without something that is offered (*res oblata*). In a true sacrifice, in contrast with figurative sacrifices also recorded in Holy Writ,² it must be a physical substance, that is, something material, visible, and permanent, such as an animal incense, food, etc. It was to be taken from the personal belongings of the offerer and necessarily pertained to the class of clean animals, such as cattle, sheep, goats, etc.,³ as opposed to dogs, pigs, asses, and camels, which were always excluded, even though they were domestic animals. Game and fish were likewise inadmissible. To meet the needs of the poor, the substitution of turtle doves or young pigeons for the larger animals was allowed.⁴ With regard to the age, sex, and physical condition of all these animals, there were the most exacting qualifications. Ordinarily, they were to be free from all defect, since only the best were fit, for Yahweh.⁵ The Law also prescribed that the victim sacrificed,

¹ Cf. Suarez, (1548-1617), *Commentaria ac disputationes in III Partem d. Thomae, de sacramento Eucharistiae et de sacrificio Missae*, in disp. 73, sect. V, n. 3; (ed. Vivès, XXI), Paris, 1866.

² Cf. Is., I, 11 ff.; Jerem., VII, 21 ff.; Ps., L (LI), 19; XLIX (L), 14, 23; CXL (CXLI), 2; Heb., XIII, 15, 16; Rom., XII, 1; Phil., II, 17; Eccl., XXXV, 4; Wis., III, 6; Osee, VI, 6; I Kgs., (1 Sam.), XV, 22; cf. also St. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, X, 6; St. Thom; *Sum. Theol.*, q. 85, a. 2, and 3 ad 2; Suarez, *o. c.* Disp. 73, sect. I, n. 1; Bellarmine, *De Missa*, I, c. 2; Franzelin, *Tractatus de ss. Eucharistiae sacramento et sacrificio*, thes. III, p. 319, Romae, 1887.

³ Cf. Lev., XXII, 19 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lev., V, 7; XII, 8.

⁵ Cf. Lev., XXII, 20 ff; Mal., I, 13 ff. "Omne, quod est optimum, Deo est attribuendum."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, I-II, q. 102, a. 3 ad 4.

should at stated times and places, be partly consumed by the priests or Israelites as a sacred food at a communal meal.

With regard to the unbloody sacrifices, which were usually substitutions or additions to the bloody sacrifice, the material was selected from the vegetable kingdom. This consisted of solid or liquid articles of daily food, with the exception of fragrant incense which was a symbol of prayer ascending to God. The *minchah* sometimes consisted of toasted ears of corn or shelled grain to which oil and incense were added.⁶ Ordinarily it consisted of 'fine flour' and was presented either cooked or uncooked accordingly as was prescribed by the Law.⁷ In the latter case, the flour was placed in a vessel and mixed with oil. After this ceremony it was covered with incense and was now ready for presentation at the altar.⁸ Honey, although among the first-fruits,⁹ was excluded from the altar¹⁰ along with milk, on the ground that both were subject to fermentation as was the case with leaven. On the other hand, since salt was regarded as a means of purification, it was prescribed as a seasoning for all food offerings prepared from corn.¹¹

But the mere presence of a visible gift alone was not sufficient to constitute a sacrifice in the true sense of the word. The tithe, the first-fruits, the votive gifts left at miraculous shrines, etc., were physical substances offered to God with a religious intent, but they were not, properly speaking, sacrifices. The Law required something more than this.

ARTICLE II

SACRIFICING MINISTER

The second requisite for sacrifice is the *sacrificing minister*, who in Scripture is also called *priest* (כֹּהֵן *iepeús, sacerdos*). The necessity of having priests for sacrifice arises from the fact that sacrifice and priesthood are so inseparably associated, that the one can not exist without the other; they are, as it were, correlative. In Holy Writ, this term 'priest,' is used in a broad and in a restricted sense. In the broad sense it designates all the members

⁶ Cf. Lev., II, 14 ff.

⁷ Cf. Lev., II, 1-7.

⁸ Cf. Lev., II, 14 ff.

⁹ Cf. Paral., XXXI, 5.

¹⁰ Cf. Lev., II, 11.

¹¹ Cf. Lev., II, 13.

of the chosen people of God, that is, the Israelites as distinct from all other nations.¹² In the restricted sense, priests were men selected from among the chosen people, namely from the family of Aaron,¹³ to act as the officials of the house of God. The former class constitutes the lay priesthood; the latter, the Hierarchical priesthood. Both priesthoods imply, in general, the same characteristics, namely: divine vocation or selection by God,¹⁴ a consecration or sanctification, which was effected, for instance, by the imposition of hands or anointing with oil; and lastly, a consequent qualification to approach God and offer gifts in His presence.¹⁵

By his special vocation, consecration, sanctification, and nearness to God, the Hierarchical priest naturally stands as mediator between God and the people. His qualification for offering a form of worship more excellent than that of the entire people, is given him on their behalf, in order to intercede before God for them, by bringing their gifts, and through the gifts the people, themselves, nearer to God. His holiness supplements the deficient holiness of his people. "For every Highpriest taken from among men," so writes the Apostle, "is ordained for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins."¹⁶ This addition 'for sins' expresses a special function of the priesthood among fallen mankind, but by no means its whole essence, since the sacrifice for sins is included in the general functions of bringing the people nearer to God by sanctification.

ARTICLE III

SACRIFICIAL ACTION

In the sacrificial action, the third and last requisite prescribed by the Law for a bloody sacrifice, the sacrifice reached its outward culmination. In spite of minor differences, it comprises five acts which were common to all sacrificial rites, namely, (1) the bringing forward of the victim to the altar or place of immola-

¹² Cf. Exod., XIX, 6.

¹³ Cf. Num., III, 12; V, 17 ff.; Exod., XXX, 7.

¹⁴ "Neither doth any man take the honor unto himself, but he that is called by God as Aaron was."—Heb., V, 4; cf. also Exod., XXVIII, 1; Num., XVI, 5.—For this reason, when King Ozias rashly presumed to offer sacrifices, he was reproved by the Levites and subsequently struck with leprosy.—2 Par., XXVI, 18 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Exod., XXIX; Lev., VIII.

¹⁶ Heb., V, 1.

tion; (2) the imposition of hands, which on the Day of Atonement was preceded by a confession of sins;¹⁷ (3) the slaying of the victim by the shedding of blood; (4) the sprinkling of blood by the priest (5) the burning of the victim which was performed accordingly as the whole or only certain parts of it were to be consumed by fire.

1. *Bringing Forward of Victim*

The first part of the sacrificial action was the *bringing forward of the victim* to the altar of burnt offerings, in the outer court of the tabernacle or of the Temple "before the Lord"¹⁸ that it might be accepted and approved by the legitimate minister of the sacrifice.

2. *Imposition of Hands*

Immediately after the above ceremony, there followed on the north side of the altar, as the second part of the sacrificial act, the *imposition* or *resting of hands* (*semikhah*) on the head of the victim. This gesture was not without its symbolic significance. It was more than a pure sign of offering; it was the rite of *delegation* or *substitution*, expressing that the victim was to die in the name and for the benefit of the offerer. "And he shall put his hand upon the head of the victim; and it shall be acceptable, and help to its expiation."¹⁹ If sacrifice was to be offered for the whole community, the ancients, as the representatives of the people, performed this ceremony.²⁰ In the case, however, of certain sacrifices such as the first-fruits, the tithes, the paschal lamb or doves, as well as all bloody sacrifices performed at the instance of pagans, this rite was omitted. As a general rule, it was preceded by a public confession of sins.²¹

A striking revelation of this mystery of substitution, accomplished on the Israelitic altar, is to be found in the touching scene of the immolation of Isaac, the first born, who represents the entire people of God.²² In the passage of Genesis which relates Abraham's sacrifice, God reveals His right to exact, as homage to His authority, the surrender of every form of life. Isaac, there-

¹⁷ Cf. Lev., XVI, 21.

¹⁸ Exod., XXIX, 42; Lev., 1, 5; IV, 6; XVI, 7, 10; also Rom., XII, 1.

¹⁹ Lev., 1, 4; III, 2; cf. Exod., XXIX, 10, 15; Cf. also Hummenlauer, *Commentar. in Exod. et Lev.*, pp. 292, 293, 364, Paris, 1897.

²⁰ Cf. Lev., IV, 4-15.

²¹ Cf. Lev., V, ff; XVI, 21; Num., V, 6 ff.

²² Cf. Gen., XXII.

fore, and the people whom he represents, must consent to be bound, to be extended on the altar, and there to be offered up to the Divine Majesty. At the last moment, however, God spares Isaac's life and contents Himself with a ram to be offered in the boy's stead.²³ But the value of the victim consists solely in its being a representative of, and a substitute for Isaac and the entire people. For this reason alone are the divine promises made to Abraham, and likewise he is subsequently blessed, not for having offered the ram, but for having sacrificed, in intention, his son to God. "Because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy only begotten son for my sake, I will bless thee."²⁴

Moreover, in the sin offering, the victim is so evidently substituted for the sinner that it is called sin, just as if the iniquity of the human being were transferred to the victim.²⁵ This is especially evident on the Day of Atonement (בְּקָרִים),²⁶ a yearly solemnity, which expresses on a large scale, the meaning of all expiatory sacrifices.²⁷ First of all, the Highpriest offered a calf for sin;²⁸ after this, two he-goats were led to the door of the Tabernacle where the priest cast lots as to which should be offered to the Lord and which should be driven into the wilderness as the scape-goat. The one designated for the altar was then sacrificed. Taking its blood, the Highpriest went beyond the veil into the Holy of Holies, to purify the Sanctuary, the Tabernacle and the altar from the uncleanness of Israel, at the same time praying for himself and for all the people. When these purifications were over, he proceeded to offer the living goat in a special manner. Extending both hands over the animal and confessing the iniquities of the children of Israel, he prayed that all these offenses and sins together with their punishment might fall on the victim's head. Thus burdened, the goat was driven into the wilderness, carrying with him the crimes and sins of the people.

Another instance of the idea of substitution is found in the testimony of God Himself, who declares unequivocally in Leviticus

²³ Cf. Gen., XXII, 13.

²⁴ Cf. Gen., XX, 16, 17. Cf. also Van Hoonacker, *Le vœu de Jephthé. Étude sur le chap. XI du livre des Juges, suivie d'une notice sur Ézéchiel, XX, 25-26*, p. 13, Louvain, 1893; Laminne, *La Rédemption—Étude dogmatique*, p. 195, Brussels, 1911.

²⁵ Cf. Lev., XXIII, 28.

²⁶ Cf. Lev., IV, 21-24, 32.

²⁷ Cf. Lev., XVI.

²⁸ Cf. Lev., *Ibid.* 3.

that He is the Author of this substitution which gives to the blood its expiatory virtue: "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you, that you may make atonement with it upon the altar for your souls, and the blood may be an expiation for the soul (לְכַפֵּר עַל־נַפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם כִּי־הָדָם הוּא בְרֶפֶשׁ יִכַּפֵּר).²⁹ As if it had been said: 'blood is the life or soul of the animal; that is why I have given it to you to represent, to take the place of your sinful souls on the altar, in order to purify them.'³⁰

Bishop Bellord, however, objects to this idea of substitution, which we hold, underlies Jewish sacrifices. According to him, "the idea that the animal was a substitute for a human victim is probably of late introduction in heathen religions, and did not prevail among the Jews."³¹ But this assertion is utterly unfounded and directly contradicts the scientific findings of some of the greatest historiographers.³² A few instances, therefore, in which the fact of substitution appears in its objective and strict sense of ransom for sin and redemption of life, or at least in its symbolic meaning of adoration and repentance, will suffice to disprove the Bishop's contention.

Thus for instance, in Babylon, while the lambs were being sacrificed, the offerer placed his hand upon them. Before the sacrifice for sin, the victim underwent a purification by water, as though penetrated and contaminated by human iniquity. When the immolation was once accomplished, the sinner was given an assurance of pardon; he was freed from his sin, which was now considered dead with the victim on the altar.³³

In his account of the Egyptian sacrifice, Herodotus gives the

²⁹ Lev., XVII, II.

³⁰ Cf. W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 421-431, London, 1894; E. D. Burton *Biblical Ideas of the Atonement*, pp. 3-41, 248-249, Chicago, 1909. For further examples of the idea of substitution, v. Lev., VIII, 9-13; I Kgs. (I Sam.), I, 24,

³¹ Bishop Bellord in an article captioned, *The Notion of Sacrifice*, in the *Am. Ecl. Rev.*, XXXIII, p. 11, 1905.

³² "The idea of substitution is widespread through all early religions, and is found in honorific as well as in piacular rites," says W. Robertson Smith in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed., p. 136, under *Sacrifice*. Cf. also Percy Gardner, *Exploratio evangelica*, p. 376, London, 1907; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, pp. 292, 392, 436, 539 ff., New York, 1925; A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, p. 369, Leipzig, 1906; Crawley, *Human Sacrifice* (Introductory and Primitive), in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (Hastings), VI, pp. 840-867, Edinburgh, 1913.

³³ Cf. Lagrange, *Relig. Sem.*, pp. 224-235, 266-274; Dhorme, *La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, pp. 272-274, Paris, 1910; Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, hrsg. von Zimmern und Winckler, p. 597, Berlin, 1903.

prayer pronounced on the head of the victim to avert the evil which menaced the sacrificers themselves, or Egypt, in general. Among the Phoenicians, as also among the Egyptians, according to Porphyrius and Plutarch, the victim had attached to it a seal bearing the image of a man prostrate on his knees and bound with fetters, his throat pierced with a sword. Every year at Athens, and every four years at Rome, there took place the public purification for uncleanness, or faults contracted in the worship of the gods. The victims were sacrificed in the name of the city by one of the first magistrates; and the Archon or Censor and all the heads of families were obliged to be present at the offering, so that the entire people should be truly represented and purified in its blood.³⁴

We may therefore rightly conclude by saying that the notion of substitution is quite primitive and is to be found in pagan and Jewish sacrifices alike. It served to express by way of symbolism that the sacrifices transferred to the victim one's personal intention of adoration, thanksgiving, petition or atonement, according to the quality of the sacrifice which he intended to offer.

3. *Slaying of Victim*

The momentous act of the entire sacrificial rite is, in all probability, to be found in the *slaying of the victim*; the ceremony which immediately followed the imposition of hands. It was effected by the cutting of the animal's neck. As might be expected, there were also definite and detailed prescriptions regarding the place, the manner, and the sacrificing minister who was to perform this action.

God, as we have already seen, accepted the life of an animal instead of the life of the transgressor. "The life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you, that you may make atonement with it upon the altar for your souls, and the blood may be for an expiation of the soul."³⁵ In this passage, the shedding of blood is said, in the clearest terms, to be the means of propitia-

³⁴ Herodotus, II, 38-39; Porphyrius, *De Abstinencia Carnium*, II, 54; IV, 15; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 31. For further testimonies of the classic authors corroborating the above view, see: Döllinger, *Heidentum und Judentum*, p. 537 ff., Ratisbon, 1857; Lambrecht, *De ss. Missae sacrificio*, p. 96, Louvain, 1885; Percy Gardner, *o. c.* p. 377; Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, p. 186, Paris, 1888; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religions of the Semites*, pp. 364-366, London, 1894; Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*, p. 117 ff. and p. 144, Munich, 1898.

³⁵ Lev., XII, 11. This effusion of blood is to be understood of the mactation and does not refer to the ceremony wherein it is sprinkled. Cf. Is., LIII, 12.

tion for the guilt-laden soul in virtue of the life that it contains; a life that belongs exclusively to the Lord of life and death.³⁶ Once we grasp this concept, we can readily understand the reason for the strict prohibition of the 'eating' of blood, under penalty of being cut off from among the people.³⁷ Moreover, inasmuch as the blood, since it bears the life of the victim, represents or symbolizes the soul of man, the idea of substitution consequently finds clear expression in the extinction of the animal's life; just as it had already been expressed in the imposition of hands. Once, therefore, that the life-blood of the victim was shed, due atonement was made, and a sacrifice in the true and proper sense of the word was offered. This same feature was also realized in the destruction of inanimate gifts, whether they happened to be offered either separately or in conjunction with the bloody sacrifices. Meal offerings were burned, and libations poured before the altar; but since these were articles of human food which could be used for the sustenance of life, their destruction, fittingly, though not perhaps as perfectly as that of the animal victim, represented the immolation of life itself. Another reason why physical destruction of the sacrificial gifts must be regarded as having constituted the essential element of the sacrifice, independently of the other parts, lies in the fact that, this destruction is symbolical and representative of the great Antitype in the New Law, slain in figure 'from the beginning of the world,'³⁸ and Who eventually shed His blood for the redemption of all mankind.³⁹

Physical slaying of the victim, by destruction or transformation of the things which sustain human life, constituted, we have just seen, a fundamentally essential element of Jewish sacrifice. But against this conclusion it might be objected that the victim was not infrequently slain by laymen and temple servants, and therefore it would appear as though the slaying could not have con-

³⁶ Exod., XX, 24 ff.; cf. Van Hoonacker, *Le lieu du culte dans la législation rituelle des Hébreux*, p. 31 ff., Gand and Leipzig, 1894.

³⁷ "Beware of this, that thou eat not the blood; for the blood is for the soul. And therefore thou must not eat the soul with the flesh." Deut., XII, 23; cf. Gen., IX, 4; Lev., III, 17; VII, 26; XVII, 10 ff.; XIX, 26; Deut., XII, 16; XV, 23; I Kgs. (I Sam.), XIV, 32 ff.

³⁸ Apoc., XIII, 8.

³⁹ A few of the passages of the New Testament which refer to the death of Christ as the means by which the redemption of mankind was accomplished, are: Rom., 6-10; I Cor., XV, 3; II Cor., V, 15; Gal., II, 21; Coloss., I, 22; Philipp., II, 8; Heb., IX, 15, 27 ff. Not a few other texts speak of the redemptive value of Christ's blood shed on the Cross: Rom., III, 25; Eph., I, 7; II, 13; I Pet., I, 19; I Jn., I, 7; Apoc., I, 5; VII, 14; Acts, XX, 28.

stituted the real sacrificial act. That this act of slaying was performed by persons other than the priests themselves, is indeed true; but it is equally certain that it was performed under their immediate direction and supervision. Those to whom the act of slaying was committed, were merely the *material agents* of the sacrifice; the priest was the *formal agent*, and it was he who was really accredited with having offered the sacrifice in honor of God, a fact which is strikingly verified in the case of Christ's sacrifice on Calvary—"He was offered because He willed it."⁴⁰

The act of slaying, however, can not be regarded as a mere preliminary or preparation to the sacrifice; nor can it, properly speaking, be considered its *formal constituent*, since, of itself it is an indifferent, indeterminate action, which does not necessarily imply the notion of a sacrificial offering, as animals may also be slain for food or sport. For this reason, its determination as a religious act depends exclusively on the underlying intention with which it is performed.⁴¹ It is a sacrifice when it is used to signify and express externally by way of symbolism, that man offers his very life to God, his Creator, in acknowledgment of His supreme dominion and infinite power. *This internal intention* of the offerer, constitutes the *formal act* of the sacrifice, a fact which appears even clearer when we remember that sacrifice is a sign, just as words are signs.⁴² Sacrifice, considered as a sacred sign, involves two acts, one internal, and the other external, each of which necessarily postulates the other in order that the sacrificial action be complete. The *first* of these is the *intention* or object which underlies the external action of the sacrificer, and which constitutes, as we have just seen, the *metaphysical* or *formal element* (the *significatum*) of sacrifice. The second is the *means* adopted to express outwardly, namely, by *destruction* (the *signum*), the internal form or purpose, and so constitutes the *physical* or *material element* of sacrifice. In fine, intention is the end or object had in view, while destruction is the means necessary to obtain that end.

4. *Sprinkling of Blood*

After the slaying or mactation of the victim, the priest collected the blood in a large basin. The blood thus gathered was reserved

⁴⁰ Isaias; LIII, 7.

⁴¹ Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, q. 85, a. 2.

⁴² "Sacrificium visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, i. e., sacrum signum est"—St. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, Lib. 10, c. 5.

for the ceremony known as the *sprinkling of blood*, which constitutes the fourth part of the sacrificial action. It was performed by the priest in accordance with the regulations that were laid down for the various sacrifices.⁴³ With regard to the rôle that it played in the offering of sacrifice, it may be said that, strictly speaking, it did not pertain to the essence of the sacrifice, since this was practically consummated with the slaying of the victim. It became merely the fitting complement of the sacrifice by expressing the sacredness of the slaying: "I have given it (the blood) to you, that you may make atonement with it upon the altar."⁴⁴ The fact, too, that the rite of sprinkling varied for the different kinds of sacrifice and accordingly produced different effects, seems to confirm our contention that it must have belonged to the completeness of the sacrifice in its symbolic and ceremonial aspect, after the fashion of ceremonies in our sacraments. At any rate, strictly speaking, it can not be considered the formal constituent of sacrifice, even though it did belong to its integrity.

5. *Consumption of Victim's Flesh*

What has just been said concerning the sprinkling with blood, may also be applied to the *consumption of the victim's flesh by fire*, which goes to form the fifth and last part of the sacrificial action. It was merely a rite that added to the completeness of the sacrifice, and manifested in a more perfect manner, the purpose for which sacrifice is offered. For instance, when the sacrificial gifts were consumed by fire, Yahweh is seen symbolically to appropriate them to Himself.⁴⁵

With regard to the peace offerings, in addition to the above rites, there was not infrequently joined, what was known as the *sacrificial banquet or meal*. At this repast, the flesh of the victim was eaten in the sanctuary by the sacrificer, or in the case of a communal sacrifice, by the representatives of the community.⁴⁶ It was simply the participation in the sacrifice, as "the symbol of

⁴³ Cf. Exod., XXIV, 4-8; Lev., VIII, 15, 24; XIV, 14; XVI, 16.

⁴⁴ Lev., XVII, 11. Cf. Hubert and Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, in the *Année sociologique*, p. 72, Paris, 1899.

⁴⁵ "All the fat shall be the Lord's by a perpetual law for your generations, and in all your habitations: neither blood nor fat shall you eat at all."—Lev. III, 16b, 17; cf. Lev., VII, 25.

⁴⁶ I Kgs., I, 3-7; IX, 22-25; Lev., VII, 15 ff.; XIX, 6 ff.; XXII, 30 ff.; Deut., XII, 7, etc.

union with God by those who offer the sacrifice."⁴⁷ The victim that was offered in sacrifice became the property of Yahweh; and therefore the partaking of its flesh acquired the character of a divine banquet, in which Yahweh entertained men as guests at His own table. But a participation of this nature, even though it belonged to the integrity of the sacrificial rite, was in no way part of the essence of the sacrifice itself, but only its natural complement.

ARTICLE IV

SYNTHETIC DEFINITION OF SACRIFICE

Sacrifice, properly so-called, we have seen, comprises three essential elements: (1) a *sacrificial gift*; (2) a *sacrificing minister*; and (3) a *sacrificial action*. This last element is made up of two constituents, namely: (a) the *slaying of the victim*, or the *destruction or transformation* of food and drink, if the sacrifice happens to be unbloody; (b) the *internal intention* underlying the outward act. Bearing these data in mind, we may very easily construct a synthetic definition of sacrifice such as the following: 'Sacrifice is the oblation of a sense-perceptible object which is destroyed or transformed by an authorized minister, for the purpose of acknowledging God's supreme dominion.' In this definition, the phrase '*the oblation of a sense-perceptible object*,' expresses the *generic element* which sacrifice has in common with all other acts of divine worship. The remainder sets forth the *specific difference* which distinguishes a sacrifice from all other religious oblations.

To sum up succinctly the essential notes or characteristics contained in the idea of sacrifice we may say:

1. The *sacrificial gift* is the *matter* of the sacrifice;
2. The *legitimate* or *authorized minister* who offers the gift to God through a sacrificial action, is the *efficient* or *ministerial cause* of the sacrifice;
3. The *internal intention* of the offerer which is conveyed outwardly by destruction, is the *metaphysical* or the *formal constituent* or *element* of the sacrificial action;
4. The *external destruction* of the gift whereby the sacrificer outwardly expresses his intention of paying homage to God, is the *physical* or the *material constituent* or *element* of the sacrificial action.

⁴⁷ Wilhelm and Scannel, *Manual of Catholic Theology*, II, p. 452, New York, 1899.

SECTION II

CALVARY

CHAPTER I

SOME MODERN VIEWS

Up to this point we have merely examined the salient features in the general notion of sacrifice as contained in the sacrificial rite of the Levitic Code, which God, through Moses, had most precisely and minutely regulated. These sacrifices we found to be acts of adoration, gratitude, petition and atonement. But in consequence of a divine dispensation, they had still a higher meaning, inasmuch as they were typically to prefigure and represent the approaching Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross.¹ In this consisted their chief object and value.² The Old Law, as St. Paul tells us, contained "only the shadow of the good things to come";³ it was "the bringing in of a better hope, by which we draw near to God,"⁴ that is, it was the preparation for the New and Eternal Covenant. Or, as St. Augustine teaches, "in the Old Law, the New Law was hidden, and in the New Law the Old was unfolded."⁵ "In the Old Testament the New was prefigured: the former was the figure, the latter is, the full expression of truth."⁶

If we, for a moment, glance retrospectively and inquire into the efficacy of the Levitical sacrifices, we see at once that, in themselves, they were imperfect and inefficacious. In his Epistle to the Hebrews, the Apostle says, "It is impossible that with the blood of oxen and goats, sins should be taken away."⁷ He therefore calls the Jewish sacrifices "weak and needy elements,"⁸ inasmuch as they could neither procure for man pardon for sin, nor effect

¹ "Per illud singulare sacrificium, in quo Mediator est immolatus, quod unum multae in *Lege victimae figurabant*, pacificantur coelestia cum terrestribus et terrestria cum coelestibus."—St. August. *Enchirid. c. XVI*, n. 62.

² "Patet quare sacrificia placuerunt Deo tempore legis scriptae et spectabant ad cultum divinum, pro eo quod omnia erant signa *profitentia* et praefigurantia reparationem humanam, quae fuit per oblationem Agni immaculati et effusionem sanguinis Jesu Christi."—St. Bonav. *De Myst. Trin.*, q. I, a. 2.

³ Heb., X, 1.

⁴ Heb., VII, 19.

⁵ St. August. *De Catech. rud.* n. 8.

⁶ St. August. *Enarrat. in Ps. 84.* n. 4.

⁷ Heb., X, 4.

⁸ Gal., IV, 9.

interior purification and sanctification. All that they could impart was a legal 'cleansing of the flesh,'⁹ that is, they caused the Israelite to be no longer regarded as legally unclean, and consequently permitted him to take part once again in the public service of God. By this, however, we do not wish to say that they were *merely* typical, mystic and relative. They were indeed all this, but they, at the same time, had an absolute signification, since they were true sacrifices, instituted for the purpose of worshipping God, appeasing His anger, giving Him thanks and petitioning Him for further blessings.¹⁰

In the course of time these varied and manifold types of sacrifice found their realization in the great Antitype of the New Law, namely, the Sacrifice of Christ on Calvary. This is Christianity's *one absolute sacrifice*, for it is the sacrifice that was destined from all eternity to redeem mankind from the evil consequences of original sin. It is called absolute, first, because it is the world-sacrifice *par excellence*, which alone among the sacrifice of the Jewish or Christian rite, stands without any relation to, and is considered in itself as absolutely independent of *any other sacrifice or event*; and secondly, because all graces, means of grace, and the daily repetition of Calvary in the unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass, derive their power and efficacy from it alone. The reason why we speak of Calvary as being absolutely independent of any other sacrifice or event is, because there are current theories in theological circles which seem to lose sight of this all-important fact, and as a result, either implicitly or even explicitly deny this natural feature of the Sacrifice of the Cross. It is true that they recognize the oneness of the Sacrifice of the New Law, but this is only due to the fact that these theories unite the Last Supper and Calvary to form one numerically identical sacrifice, whereas in reality, we hold with practically the whole Catholic theological school, supported by the unanimous consent of tradition, that (1) Christ's sacrifice was one, all-perfect, and that it took place on Calvary; (2) that this self-same sacrifice had been previously offered (or enacted) in an unbloody manner at the Last Supper; and (3) that it is now perpetuated in the unbloody offering of the Mass. In

⁹ Heb., IX, 13.

¹⁰ "Caerimoniae Veteris Legis duplicem causam habebant: unam scil. literalem, secundum quod ordinabantur ad cultum Dei, aliam vero figuralem sive mysticam, secundum quod ordinabantur ad figurandum Christum."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, I-II, q. 102, a. 3.

brief, Calvary, the Last Supper and the Mass are identically the same sacrifice and each is a complete sacrificial act in itself.

One of those who contended that the death of Christ was not of itself a true sacrifice was Bishop Bellord. According to him, Calvary merely partakes of the nature of sacrifice by virtue of its intrinsic association with the Last Supper, that is, by being considered as a ceremonial element of the sacrificial ritual, the essential action of which was performed at the Last Supper, in which case this would be the only literal sacrifice offered by Christ.¹¹

A different view of the question involved is that which was advocated by the learned Bishop MacDonald who made a life-long study of the subject. He indeed stands for the oneness of the Christian sacrifice; in fact, no one ever insisted on it more than he has, but he at the same time asserts that the Supper, Calvary, and the Mass are three stages of this one sacrifice begun in the Supper, consummated on Calvary and prolonged forever in the Mass.¹² The Sacrifice of the Cross, is, he admits, a finished work, but this only in virtue of the Supper which has gone before. Apropos of this, he says that "the offering and consecration in the Supper are an essential part of the One Sacrifice, and the immolation on Calvary is an essential part of the One Sacrifice, and the liturgical offering in the Mass is an essential part of the One Sacrifice. From this it follows that the death on the Cross would not have been at all a sacrifice without the offering and consecration in the Supper."¹³

This unique conception of Christ's one sacrifice was later on

¹¹ Bishop Bellord, *The Sacrifice of the New Law*, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, XXXIII, p. 268: "The death of Jesus Christ is indeed of supreme importance for our salvation; it was the expiation of our sins; its influence is dominant in every sacrifice; but it is not, as considered simply in itself and independently of the Last Supper and the Mass, literally a sacrifice."

¹² Bishop MacDonald, *The Sacrifice of the Mass: A Rejoinder*, in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, Oct. 1924, p. 342: "The true doctrine is that the Supper and Death, and the Mass are not three Sacrifices, but three stages of one and the same Sacrifice, as begun, as consummated, as continued." Cf. also: *The One Sacrifice*, *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, Aug., 1925, p. 172 ff.; *The Sacrifice of the New Law*, *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, Nov., 1926, p. 548 ff.; and *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, by the same author, p. 96 ff.; London, 1924.

¹³ Bishop MacDonald, *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, p. 79. Cf. also the following: o. c., p. 59 ff.; *The Notion of Sacrifice*, *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, XXXIII, p. 404: "The offering of the Supper made the Cross a Sacrifice"; *The Sacrifice of the Mass: A Rejoinder*, *Irish Eccl. Record*, Oct., 1924, p. 340: "The Supper by Itself is not a Sacrifice, nor is the Cross by itself" (a sacrifice).

As we have already had occasion to note, this view was proposed to the theological world many years ago by J. Traversa in his *De Eucharistico Sacrificio*, p. 64 and *passim*.

given wider and added importance in Fr. De la Taille's very recent book entitled *Mysterium Fidei*.¹⁴ The purpose of the theory, like that of Bishop MacDonald, aims at the establishment of the numeric identity or rather the oneness of the New Testament Sacrifice to avert the possible danger of conceiving two sacrifices of Redemption, one on the Cross, and one at the Last Supper. This, according to the distinguished author, is of supreme im-

¹⁴ M. De la Taille, S.J., *Mysterium Fidei*, editio altera, Paris, 1924. Cf. also the lecture he contributed to the Cambridge Catholic Summer School of 1922, published by Messrs. Heffer & Co., Cambridge, under the editorship of Fr. Lattey, in *Catholic Faith in the Holy Eucharist*.

Among the supporters of this theory Fr. De la Taille mentions the following: *Civiltà Cattolica* (Mattiussi), *Gregorianum* (Hanssens), *Theologische Revue* (Kramp), *Pastor Bonus* (Springer), *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (d'Alès), *Études* (Lebreton), *Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales* (Beaudin), *Vie Spirituelle* (de Vathaire), *Le Canada Français* (Gagnon), *Adoremus* (Bird), and others.

In a comparatively short time, however, this theory of the author met with adverse critique from not a few able theologians. Among his critics we may mention:

Blackfriars, Sept., 1923, V. McNabb.

Nov., " " "

" Oct., 1924, " "

" Nov., " " "

" Jan., 1925, " "

" Feb., 1925, A. Swaby.

American Ecclesiastical Review, June, 1923, J. Brosnan.

" Nov., " A. Swaby.

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, May, 1922, G. Pierse.

" Dec., 1923, J. Brosnan.

" June, 1924, V. McNabb.

" Oct., 1924, " "

" Dec., 1924, " "

" May, 1925, A. Ryan.

" Sept., 1925, V. McNabb.

" Oct., 1925, A. Ryan.

Dublin Review, July, August, Sept., 1925, Abbot Ford.

" Oct., Nov., Dec., 1925, V. McNabb.

Nouvelle Revue Theologique, t. 50, 1923, V. McNabb.

The Last Supper and Cavalry, by A. Swaby, New York, 1926.

The Sacrifice of the New Law, by J. Brosnan, London, 1926.

For Fr. De la Taille's replies to his critics, vide the following:

Esquisse du Mystère de la Foi, Paris, 1924, which contains articles taken from the *Gregorianum*, *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, and the *compte rendu* of the National Eucharistic Congress of Paris;

A Reply to Critics, published by the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, being a reprint of answers to Frs. McNabb and Swaby in the July and August numbers of the *Am. Eccl. Review* for 1924. It also contains his letter to the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July, 1924;

Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Sept., 1924.

" Jan., 1925.

" June, 1925.

" Aug., 1925.

Dublin Review, Jan., Feb., Mar., 1926.

Blackfriars, Dec., 1924.

" Feb., 1925.

Gregorianum, March, 1926.

portance, for if Christ had offered a sacrifice numerically distinct from that of Calvary, then He would already before the Crucifixion, have redeemed the human race.¹⁵ To avoid this apparent difficulty, he seeks a sole sacrificial act whereby the Supper and Calvary are so intimately linked, that the two together constitute one ritually single sacrifice.¹⁶ This he very ingeniously attempts to do by showing that the oneness of the Supper and the Cross is inherent in the very conception of sacrifice. He therefore examines from a traditional viewpoint, the fundamental concept which underlies sacrifice in general, in order subsequently to determine its constituent elements. These he finds to be, first, a sensible, ritual, and liturgical *offering* or oblation.¹⁷ In the case of a propitiatory sacrifice, this element must invariably be accompanied by some real destruction of the victim offered, hence, secondly, *immolation* (in the sense of mactation).¹⁸ To constitute a sacrifice, therefore, two essential elements, according to Fr. De la Taille, enter into combination, namely, a *liturgical oblation* and *real immolation* (mactation).

In his own words he goes on to explain the requirements of these two constitutive elements, as follows:

“Quae quidem sensibilis oblatio non necesse est ut semper ab immutatione rei realiter distinguatur, sed sufficit, si, ut nonnumquam contingit, ex adjunctis externis censeatur ipso ritu mactativo vel quomodolibet immutativo implicata.”¹⁹

“Sed, ut patet, identitas illa realis inter oblationem et immolationem nequit habere locum ubi immolatio ab alio

¹⁵ *M. F.*, p. 82.

¹⁶ Msgr. V. Bernardi welcomes Fr. De la Taille's view as a progressive advancement over previous theories, though he holds that the eminent author failed to complete his theory by not showing the numerical identity of the Last Supper and Calvary with that of the Mass also. Apropos of this, he remarks: “Esprimendo con tutta schiettezza il mio sentimento, mi pare che la dottrina del De La Taille segni un notevole progresso in confronto di quelle teorie, che egli ha criticato: la identità numerica della Cena col sacrificio della croce, la permanenza di Gesù nello stato di vittima anche negli splendori del cielo. Ma l'Autore non ha compiuto tutto il cammino: gli manca un passo decisivo, che avrebbe coronato tutto il suo arduo lavoro, cioè la identificazione numerica della Cena e del sacrificio della croce col sacrificio della s. Messa.” *Il Santo Sacrificio della Messa*, p. 99, Treviso, 1924. Cf. also pp. 8 and 9 for a résumé of his own view; and for a criticism of the same, cf. M. Grégoire, *Sur l'unité du sacrifice rédempteur. A propos d'un ouvrage récent.—Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, t. 2, 1925, pp. 399–408.

¹⁷ *M. F.*, p. 7.

¹⁸ *M. F.*, p. 10. Cf. also *Reply*, p. 7, n. 10, where he makes clear that the immolation must be real, that is, a real destructive act. Further on, we shall discuss the employment of the word immolation in this sense.

¹⁹ *M. F.*, p. 11.

praeter liturgum seu sacerdotem peragitur; necesse est enim ut oblatio sit opus ipsius liturgi seu sacerdotis."²⁰

"Notissimum est ex Exodo, Levitico, Numeris, Deuteronomio. Armentum enim extra sacrum aedem, etiam ab homine laicali, caesum eo censebatur Deo deferri quod per sacerdotem sanguis admovebatur altari, veluti vicario numinis cujus erat praesentia sanctificatum."²¹

"Sacrificium ergo integratur proprie ex duobus: nimirum et actu (externo) offerendi et immolatione, quippe quia victima **VEL OFFERATUR IMMOLANDA**, vel **OFFERATUR IMMOLATIONE**, vel **OFFERATUR IMMOLATA**."²²

"Apud scriptores autem saepissime accidit ut oblatio et immolatio non accipiantur ita stricte, sed pro integra sacrificiatione, cujus partes sunt. . . Unde factum est ut oblatio et immolatio pro synonymis haberentur, sonaretque oblatio immolationem, atque immolatio rursus oblationem. Quo sensu dicitur Christus et se immolasse pro nostra salute, quamvis non se mactaverit, sed se solummodo obtulerit ad mactationem; et se obtulisse in ara crucis, quia ibi immolatus et pro tanto sacrificatus est, quamvis jam antea se obtulisse ad passionem suam sacerdotaliter."²³

"Ad verum igitur sacrificium sufficiet ut **OFFERATUR** aliquid aut **TAMQUAM IMMOLANDUM** aut **TAMQUAM IMMOLATUM**."²⁴

These are the preliminary considerations which the author lays down and which are to serve as a key to the solution of the problem he has set to solve. With these principles uppermost in mind, he immediately proceeds to apply them to the Sacrifice of the Passion in which Christ was sacrificed. His one aim, let us continually bear in mind, is to establish that the Last Supper and Calvary, as separate and distinct acts, occurring on different days, were enacted ritually as a single sacrifice. The essential constitutive elements of a sacrifice being oblation and immolation, he seeks in the facts of the Last Supper and Calvary for a real oblation and a real immolation, which will unite into one, the two rites of offering, the unbloody and the bloody, so that the Supper and Calvary go to make up one real sacrifice. This liturgical oblation

²⁰ *M. F.*, p. 11, n. 2.

²¹ *M. F.*, p. 11.

²² *M. F.*, pp. 11, 12.

²³ *M. F.*, p. 12.

²⁴ *M. F.*, *Ibid.* On the question of the consistency of this definition, *vide* A. Ryan, in the *Irish. Eccl. Record*, May, 1925, pp. 461, 462, where he demonstrates that, on Fr. De la Taille's own hypothesis that a sacrifice requires both *real oblation* and *actual immolation* (mactation), this definition is consequently illogical inasmuch as it does not express any element of actual immolation (mactation).

so necessary to sacrifice, he maintains, could only have been made at the Last Supper.

"Sicut igitur nec particulares eventus, sic nec generalis complexus passionis dominicae, AB HORTO AD CRUCEM, per se exhibet illud unde enascitur aut clareat forma ac proprietates litationis sacerdotalis; quae proinde est requirenda alibi; ubi scilicet et Scriptura eam commenstrat liquidam, et agnovere Patres Doctoresque veteres constanter," namely, in the Last Supper.²⁵

And then to prove that Christ really offered Himself there in a strictly liturgical manner, he devotes six lengthy *elucidationes*.²⁶ Christ, he says, at the Last Supper, pledges Himself to death by an immolation, that is, by one that is "not real, but representative, symbolical, sacramental, not bloody but unbloody"²⁷ and in this manner represented the bloody one to follow.²⁸ This unbloody immolation constitutes the real oblation of the one sacrifice, that is, of the Passion.²⁹

With regard to the second element of sacrifice, namely, *real immolation*, he says:

"Ex parte jam immolationis intelligendum est sacrificium mortis ejus, non tamen suum habuisse locum in ipsa separatione corporis et animae Opportuit autem ut immolatio Christi esset illi actualiter voluntaria acceptanti et patienti; cum ex voluntarietate fuerit pretium victimae et sacerdotis meritum; unum siquidem fuerunt voluntate, sicut et re, sacerdos et victima. Quare immolatio oportet ut accipiatur pro passione, quatenus via fuit ad mortem."³⁰

The second requisite, therefore, which the author holds is necessary for a complete sacrifice, namely, *real immolation*, is to be found in the sufferings of Christ, which culminated in His death voluntarily accepted.

It is the Supper, we have seen, that supplies the sensible and ritual oblation, vital to the integrity of Christ's one sacrifice; this, moreover, is performed in the mystic immolation of the Last Supper, that is, by the rite of consecration. The real immolation takes place on the Cross. These two essential component elements of sacrifice, we are told, give us Christ's propitiatory sacri-

²⁵ *M. F.*, p. 12.

²⁶ *M. F.*, *Eluc.*, III-VIII, pp. 34-39.

²⁷ *Reply*, p. 5.

²⁸ *Reply*, *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Reply*, pp. 6, 7.

³⁰ *M. F.*, pp. 27, 28.

fice of Redemption. And what is more, both these requisites enter into combination after the manner of matter and form,³¹ so that "the oneness of the Supper with the Cross, in the nature of sacrifice is a numeric oneness pure and simple; that is, these two did not make two sacrifices, distinct and complete, but only one."³²

In his general conclusion concerning the unity existing between the Supper and Calvary, Fr. De la Taille sums up the salient points of his theory, which for the sake of brevity we may succinctly cull as follows:

1. "Jam in coena Christus ritualiter obtulit sacrificium suae passionis."

2. "Coena igitur et crux inter se complent. In coena inceptum est sacrificium illud quod in cruce erat consummandum."

3. "Reperitur immolationis realitas in passione mortis. At in symbolica immolatione coenae elucet potissimum oblationis liturgicae proprietates."

4. "Unum proinde numero fuit sacrificium redemptionis in cruce et in coena."

"Nec computandum unum sacrificium praeliminarium in coena, altera in cruce succidaneum."

"Sed in coenaculo incruenta oblatio fiebat cruentae immolationis in calvaria perpetuandae."

5. "Nec adeo nisi unum sacrificium perfecit Christus, nec litavit nisi semel; et pro quando attenditur sacrificium penes actum sacerdotis, eminet in coena, ubi Christus se ritualiter offert ad mortem; et pro quanto attenditur penes victimae mactationem, impletur in cruce, ad quam oblatus est a seipso Christus moritur."

6. "Unitas illa ex oblatione eucharistica et immolatione cruenta non est. . . . in genere rei; sed profecto est unitas in genere signi."

"Siquidem est unitas in genere sacrificii, et sacrificium ut tale, inter signa recensetur: signum existens in visibilis inter-naeque dedicationis."

"Quemadmodum etiam in sacramento eucharistiae non est forma consecrationis cum speciebus sacramentalibus unum quid in genere rei sed in genere signi seu sacramenti tantum."

7. "In genere ipso signi non sunt considerandae illae duae partes ut mere integrantes (quemadmodum sunt corporum partes quantitativae vel homogeneae), sed omnino ut constitutivae (quales sunt in corporibus partes essentiae)."

³¹ *M. F.*, pp. 101, 102.

³² *Reply*, p. 9.

8. "Quorum una, oblatio scilicet, se habet per modum formae determinantis, altera suten, scilicet immolatio, per modum materiae se habet, portans atque subjectans rationem formalem."

9. "Sicut enim in eucharistia videmus speciem panis vel vini permanentem determinari *ad esse sacramentale* (seu significativum ac demonstrativum praesentiae Christi) per formam consecrationis transeuntem, et, accepta inde ratione formali, esse ipsum (ut dicunt) *sacramentum tantum*."

"Sic in sacrificio Christi passio tota, ad mortem usque, determinatur *ad esse sacrificale* per oblationem Christi, unde, accepta ratione formali habet ut sit et dicatur sacrificium ipsum redemptionis, in quodem continuo *fieri* decurrens, usquedum, intercedente morte, consistit in facto esse."³³

One of the objections we find to the above theory, is, that it maintains that "the Supper and the Cross are related to each other as essential parts of Our Lord's own individual sacrifice."³⁴ Were such really the case, then it must logically follow that the Sacrifice consummated on Calvary can not be conceived as a sacrifice that is independent of the Last Supper, since on Calvary there is not to be found any *visible*, and strictly speaking, *liturgical oblation*. It is true that Fr. De la Taille answers this objection by saying that he does not maintain that Christ offered *only* at the Last Supper, but rather that the oblation begun in the Supper, perseveres through the whole Passion, and is therefore to be found on the Cross, although it derives its efficacy from the Supper.³⁵ But peculiarly enough, if such be the case, the oblation on Calvary is no longer the 'real, actual, visible, audible, tangible oblation'³⁶ such as his theory postulates for any true and proper sacrifice, since in this instance, it is, as he frankly admits, nothing more than its virtual perseverance.³⁷

Ingenious as this whole conception may seem, to us it appears as a deviation from the traditional teaching of the Church that, Calvary, is, in itself, the one absolute sacrifice of Redemption, and as such does not require the Last Supper in order that it be determined to a sacrificial existence. Nowhere in Sacred Scrip-

³³ *M. F.*, pp. 101, 102.

³⁴ *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Sept., 1924, p. 311.

³⁵ *Reply*, p. 28.

³⁶ *Reply*, pp. 6, 7; *M. F.*, p. 11.

³⁷ "There is no sacerdotal and sacrificial oblation (as distinct from a mere giving up of one's life in a sacred consecration); there is no sacrificial or sacerdotal oblation properly so called on the Cross, except as an extension of what has gone before at the Last Supper."—*American Ecclesiastical Review*, August, 1924 p. 25.

ture do we read of the Supper being formally associated with the Cross as its integral or component part. Even if Scripture does refer to the Supper as an *oblation*, there is no cogent reason why this term should be taken in its strict etymological sense to signify a mere *offering* or *non-sacrificial oblation*, as opposed to its broader meaning of *sacrificial oblation*. Oblation is currently used with two distinct meanings. It may, and has as a matter of fact, been employed in connection with an oblation *qua* oblation, independently of the notion of sacrifice. In this case, it would mean the formal presentation of a gift, or its complete segregation from profane uses, and its subsequent consecration to the Almighty.³⁸ But whenever it is used to convey this meaning, it is to be found *only* in a *latreutic* sacrifice, and *not* in a *propitiatory sacrifice*, such as we are concerned with in the present question under discussion. An oblation of this kind is therefore really distinct from sacrifice. But in its second signification, namely, when it is used in a *propitiatory sacrifice*, its meaning is invariably associated with the idea of *sacrifice* or *immolation*, and in this case the distinction between the two is not real but merely logical.³⁹ In fact, in such instances, *oblation* is actually synonymous with *sacrifice* or *the offering of a victim*, inasmuch as the primary and sole reason why a victim is offered, is, that it be immolated or sacrificed. Hence, we may rightly say, that, while not every oblation is necessarily a sacrifice or immolation, every sacrifice or immolation *is* an oblation, in contradistinction to the view adopted and propounded by Fr. De la Taille, that every sacrifice *involves* or *has* an oblation.⁴⁰

³⁸ In its etymological signification, *oblation* (from ob-ferre, adferre) is used as early as St. Justin's time (2nd century), where bread and wine are spoken of as being *offered* (i. e., presented) by the faithful. From this oblation of the people the matter for the sacrifice was subsequently taken. Cf. St. Justin, *I Apol.*, XIII, LXV, LXVII (P. G., VI, 345, 428 ff.) See also St. Cyprian, *De Lapsis*, XXV (P. L., IV, 500): "Solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre prae-sentibus coepit;" cf. also *Epist.* LXIV, 4 (P. L., IV, 404): "quando nec oblatio sanctificari illic possit." Cf. St. Thom. *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, q. 86, a. I, c.

³⁹ "Unde iam intelliges quod in sacrificio, oblatio et immolatio non sunt duo inter se realiter distincta, quia immolatio seu destructio importat praecise eam quae sacrificio propria est, distinctivam oblationis rationem: rationem dico, per quam oblatio sacrificia ponitur extra numerum oblationum quae hominibus fiunt, et determinatur ad significandum honorem soli Deo debitum, eique soli reservatum. Quapropter, tam apud profanos quam apud ecclesiasticos auctores, idem prorsus sonat, victimam *offerre* et victimam *immolare*. Sed et Concilium Tridentinum, ubi doctrinam de sacrificio explicat, pro synonymis habet in subiecta materia, duo haec verba *offerre* et *immolare*, unum pro altero indifferenter usurpans, ut videre est, Sess. 22, cap. I et 2."—Card. Billot, *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, I, p. 588, n. I, Romae, 1924.

Fr. De la Taille admits that the word *oblation* has been employed in its broad or strict sense to signify a *mere offering* or a *complete sacrifice* respectively. This he would attribute to an indiscriminate use of the word.⁴¹ In the strict sense, according to him, oblation is taken as the *offering*, and *immolation* as the *destruction* of the victim; both of which are distinct from each other and from the whole sacrifice.⁴² But, in reality, we ask, should these words be taken in their strict sense to mean that oblation is, *de facto*, distinct from immolation? Scripture by no means warrants such a distinction, as we shall see further on, for whenever it employs the word oblation in connection with a propitiatory sacrifice, it invariably signifies a whole sacrifice, be it bloody or unbloody; in no case, however, is it ever spoken of as a component part of the whole composite.⁴³ Tradition likewise adopts this usage, although Fr. De la Taille attempts to prove that it was sometimes employed in the strict sense.⁴⁴ To this we answer that even were such the case, still, nowhere in tradition can the slightest trace be found of a formal association of the Supper with Calvary as two parts of Christ's one numeric sacrifice. If, as we shall also see further on, the Supper was ever spoken of as an oblation, it was always the broad sense that was intended, a fact which is clearly evinced from its frequent application by the Fathers, even to the Sacrifice of Calvary. This usage of the word oblation, is, moreover, *conclusively* borne out in the Tridentine conciliar debates and definitions, wherein we find the patristic teaching couched in the same traditional terms with which it was consecrated by centuries of use. Therein, as we shall see in our discussion on the Last Supper, the terms *oblatio* and *offerre* were used consistently in their purely broad sense and not in the restricted meaning of *offering*. This, for the present, is sufficient to show that Tradition never considered the Supper as the formal oblation of Calvary, as Fr. De la Taille would have us believe.

⁴⁰ "Sacrificia propria dicuntur, quando circa res oblatas aliquid fit; sicut quod animalia occidebantur, et comburebantur: quod panis frangitur et comeditur, et benedicitur: . . . oblatio directe dicitur, cum Deo aliquid offertur, etiamsi nihil circa ipsum fiat; sicut dicuntur offerri denarii, vel panes in altari, circa quos nihil fit: UNDE OMNE SACRIFICIUM EST OBLATIO, SED NON CONVERTITUR." St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, II-II, q. 85, a. 3, ad 3. In Ps. XXXIX, 4.

⁴¹ *M. F.*, p. 12.

⁴² *M. F.*, p. 11; *Reply*, p. 5, n. 6.

⁴³ For a few of the texts of the Vulgate which identify *immolare* with sacrificial oblation, *vide*: Mk. XIV, 12; Acts XIV, 7; XV, 29; 1 Cor., V, 7; VIII, 4; X, 19, 20, 28; Phil., II, 7.

⁴⁴ *M. F.*, pp. 39-65.

Passing over to the *immolation*, which is spoken of as having taken place on the Cross as the complementary constitutive of the *oblation* that was made at the Last Supper, we may rightly say, that hundreds of texts might be adduced to show that the Fathers considered Calvary a whole sacrifice, that is, complete in itself without being formally associated with the Supper, while not one conclusive text can be brought forward to show that the act of immolation on Calvary was only a component part of the Passion.

With regard to the employment in his book, of the word *immolation*, Fr. De la Taille says: "Immolation is throughout this paper taken in its strictly technical sense as distinct from oblation."⁴⁵ "In that sacred mystery of our faith, which is the redemption of mankind by the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Saviour, I distinguish a twofold immolation. One perfectly real, even bloody; another previous to that, in the Supper, not real, but representative, symbolical, sacramental, mystical. We have the slaying of the victim, the true and real immolation, which is the work not of the Priest, but of the *executioners*"⁴⁶ (*italics ours*). Here we see that Fr. De la Taille employs the word 'real immolation' as equivalent to physical destruction or mactation, which in the case of Christ's bloody sacrifice must be referred to the Jews, the instruments by whom its accomplishment was made possible. Using the term in this sense, Christ can not be said to have immolated Himself, since this was the work of the Jews exclusively. But, we may ask, are the sacrificial terms *immolation* and *mactation*, in their strictly technical sense, really synonymous as we are led to believe they are? If they are not, then naturally no one is justified in using them indiscriminately, if his terminology is to be technically correct, and not misleading, as otherwise might be the case. To us it seems that they are fundamentally distinct one from the other, and that each, therefore, has its own respective use.⁴⁷

Mactation, from 'mactare,' now used exclusively in connection with the slaying of a sacrificial victim, originally had no such

⁴⁵ *Reply*, p. 3, n. 6; *M. F.*, p. 11 ff.

⁴⁶ *Reply*, pp. 5, 6.

⁴⁷ In the Vulgate, St. Jerome rightly distinguishes between immolation and mactation by invariably identifying *immolare* with the offerer's act of oblation or the sacrificial act (Cf. Mk., XIV, 12; Acts, XV, 29, I Cor., V, 7; VIII, 4; X, 19, 20, 28; Phil., II, 17). *Mactare* is the synonym he gives for 'kill' (Cf. Exod., VIII, 26; Isa., LXVI, 3; John, X, 10).

meaning. Etymologically, it is derived from 'magis augere,' and signified to magnify, extol, glorify or honor a deity with sacrifices. In the course of time, however, it came to be employed euphemistically for 'occidere,' thus giving rise to its subsequent use in the sense of 'slaying.'⁴⁸ From this it would follow that since 'mactation' does not necessarily imply the notion of a sacrifice, it is the only proper term sanctioned by usage which correctly designates the slaying of Christ by the Jews. If the term 'immolation' has ever been employed to designate this particular act, this is undoubtedly to be attributed to the use of the word in its less technical sense.

Turning to the word *immolation*, we see that it is etymologically derived from 'immolare,' and literally signifies 'to sprinkle a victim with sacrificial meal.' In its origin, it is intrinsically foreign to the idea of a real slaying. It was employed in reference to the offering of the entire sacrifice as may even be seen from its usage in the Roman sacrifices. In all these sacrifices, there were two persons who took part in them, namely, the *popa* or *victimarius*, and the *priest*. To the *popa*, the priest's assistant, was assigned the task of slaying the sacrificial victim, an action which he always performed under the direction and supervision of the priest. But to the priest himself was exclusively reserved the strictly sacerdotal function, namely, that of sprinkling the salted spelt and actually offering up the sacrifice; and to him alone was the term 'immolare' applied.⁴⁹ Likewise in the Jewish Law the victim was sometimes slain by a person other than the priest, though always under his direction. But in this case it was the priest that was accredited with having immolated or offered the victim, a fact which we shall see later on, was literally verified in the Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross. How then in the light of all this it can be maintained that in such sacrifices it was the slayer who *immolated* the victim, and the priest who offered it, is, it seems to us, quite incomprehensible, unless perchance, such a distinction is deemed fundamentally essential to the validity of a given theory, which appears to be the case here. To us, such a

⁴⁸ "Olim enim hostiae immolatae dicebantur mola salsa tactae: cum vero ictae et aliquid ex illis in aram datum, mactatae dicebantur per laudationem, per ominis bonae significationem. Mactare est proprie magis augere. Prisca superstitione scaeva proferre verba, ne vitiarentur facta, nefas erat. Et hinc mactare pro occidere." Pitisco, *Lexicon Antiquit. Rom.*, t. II, p. 510.

⁴⁹ Cf. Mortimer, *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*, p. 474, London, 1901.

distinction seems misleading, uncalled for, and contrary to the ancient and constant usage of this term in reference to sacrifice. For this reason we say that when properly used in its technical sense, immolation can only mean one thing, namely, a complete sacrifice or sacrificial oblation.

There is, we readily admit, a certain distinction between the terms immolation and sacrificial oblation, not, however, a *real* distinction, but merely a logical distinction which depends on the viewpoint one takes of the sacrifice. Thus, for instance, immolation is the act of sacrificial oblation considered in relation to the victim slain. On the other hand, sacrificial oblation is the act of immolation considered from the viewpoint of sacerdotal action. Such being the case, the convertible use of the terms is both technically correct, and in fact, inevitable. But, if the distinction be merely one of reason, then we can not, as does Fr. De la Taille, attach a real distinction to the terms *oblation* of sacrifice and *immolation*; to do this would be gratuitously to assume that in reality neither term in itself involves the other. Such a transition, besides being unwarranted by the traditional use of the terms, is utterly illogical, to say the least, and hence unjustifiable.

When the author's attention was called to the improper use of the term 'immolation,'⁵⁰ he attempted to substantiate it by citing a definition of the word taken from Forcellini's 'Totius Latinitatis Lexicon' (1885, tom. 3, p. 387 or *M. F.*, pp. 11-12). "Immolo in its current acceptation," he says, "has two principal meanings. The first being *rei divinae causa macto*, and the second, *sacrifico*; either a *mactation* in connection with an offering, or a sacrificing."⁵¹ In the latter sense, he admits that Christ was immolated by Himself, and not by others. In the former sense, however, he contends that Christ on the Cross was *immolated* by His *enemies* and certainly not by Himself. But does Forcellini in reality give the word two such distinct meanings? Is not the definition somewhat strained, if not intentionally distorted in order to make it harmonize with his cherished distinction? Forcellini, it is true, says that *immolo means: rei divinae causa macto*, that is, I slay or mactate *rei divinae causa*. From this it follows that whether a slaying or mactation is to constitute a sacrifice or not, depends wholly on the intention of the slayer or sacrificer. Such being the case,

⁵⁰ Vide a letter by Fr. MacNabb in *Blackfriars*, Jan., 1925, p. 50 ff.

⁵¹ *Blackfriars*, Feb., 1925, p. 108.

can the immolation of Christ be attributed to the Jews? If so, they must have mactated *rei divinae causa*, which would of course be blasphemous to maintain. They indeed did the *slaying*, but surely it was not on their part the oblation of a victim *rei divinae causa*, and therefore they can in no wise be said to have *immolated* their victim; theirs was an act of mactation pure and simple. It was Christ Himself, who performed the immolation, since the essence of a sacrifice or immolation consists in the offering up of a victim which is slain for this purpose. Christ, in this case, does the offering, and the Jews are merely the instrumental means or material agents for the accomplishment of His will, which is the determining factor or formal constituent of the sacrificial act. Moreover, according to Forcellini, a *slaying* or *mactation* made *rei divinae causa*, is equivalent to *sacrifico*. He does not imply, much less does he say, as Fr. De la Taille would have him, that *immolo* has two distinct meanings as though one were actually different from the other. He merely says: "*Immolo-rei divinae causa macto, sacrifico*," in which case *sacrifico* is considered synonymous with what precedes it. In both instances the meaning is exactly the same; and for this reason it may be rightly said that Forcellini's definition directly militates against the acceptance of *immolo* in the restricted sense of slaying. To conclude on the contrary, that the Jews immolated Christ, is to do violence to the very definition which the author advances in substantiation of his own subjective employment of the word.

Theories, therefore, such as the foregoing, which professedly maintain that the death of Christ on the Cross was not, of, and by itself, a complete sacrifice verified in its entirety then and there, but related to, or dependent upon the Last Supper for its essentially sacrificial character, seem to us to be at variance with the unquestioned tradition of the Church which has been uniformly honored at all times in orthodox theological circles, and infallibly summarized and authenticated by the Council of Trent. For this reason it is our intention to show how the traditional ecclesiastical teaching ever regarded the death of Christ as a real, full sacrifice, independent of any event, liturgical or otherwise, which may have taken place either anterior or subsequent to it (*an sit*). After having sufficiently convinced ourselves of the reality of this bloody sacrificial offering, we shall examine the offering itself, to see just how it fulfills the necessary requisites for sacrifice (*quomodo sit*).

CHAPTER II

DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH CONCERNING CALVARY

ARTICLE I

CONCILIAR DECLARATIONS

The truth of the Sacrifice of the Cross was solemnly and formally declared in the General Councils of the Church, against the Socinians¹ and Rationalists.² Thus, for instance, the universal conviction of Christianity was explicitly expressed in the Council of Ephesus (A. D. 431). There it was declared that Christ's vicarious atonement was a bloody sacrifice, made for the purpose of reconciling mankind to the Divine Majesty, and that it was therefore propitiatory. It is not spoken of as being the completion of a sacrifice begun elsewhere and merely completed on the Cross. No, for it was a complete sacrifice in itself. Against Nestorius this same Council declared that "Christ *offered Himself up* for us an odor of sweetness to God the Father.³ Hence, if any one say that the Divine Logos Himself was not made our Highpriest (ἀρχιερέα), and Apostle, let him be anathema."⁴

The Council of Trent,⁵ in defining the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, bases its definition on the fundamental dogma that the death of Christ on the Cross was a true and complete sacrifice in itself: "Though He was about to *offer Himself* (*oblaturus erat*—

¹ Cf. Billuart, *De Incarnatione, Dissert.* 19. a. 4; Franzelin, *De Verbo Incarnato, Thes.* 51. The doctrine of the Socinians on the Sacrifice of the Cross was ably refuted by Stentrup in his *Praelectiones dogmaticae de Verbo Incarnato, pars.* II; *Soteriologia*, p. 273 ff., Oeniponte, 1889. Associated with the Socinian view, are the views concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice, held by Brightman in *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 1890 and Milligan in *The Ascension and Heavenly priesthood of our Lord*, London, 1892. They claim that only the initial act of sacrifice was performed on Calvary, and that the essential act by which man was redeemed took place in heaven. The Eucharist also relates to what Christ is now doing in heaven and therefore does not relate to the Cross. For a further *exposé* of their views, *vide* Mortimer, o. c., p. 82 ff., and *passim*; also Paterson, in *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, IV, p. 347 ff., Edinburgh, 1904, sub art. *Sacrifice*; Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, II, p. 646, II, p. 646, London, 1909.

² Among others, A. Sabatier may be singled out as an example. Cf. his work entitled *La doctrine de l'expiation et son évolution historique*, pp. 23, 39, 53, 95, 102, 105 and *passim*. For others, *vide*, moreover, Madureira, *Institutiones theologiae dogmaticae specialis*, t. 2, tract. 1, c. 3, par. 23, p. 195.

³ This is a direct reference to Eph. V, 2, where St. Paul speaks expressly of the Sacrifice of the Cross.

⁴ Denziger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, n. 122, Freiburg, 1922.

⁵ Besides the Councils of Ephesus and Trent, mention may also be made of the IV Lateran Council, 'Firmiter' (Denz.-Bann. n. 429): Cf. also *Collect. Lac.* VII, 515 a. b.; 543 b, c; 561 a, d; 566 c.

sacrifice) Himself once on the altar of the Cross unto God the Father . . . that He might leave a visible sacrifice . . . whereby that bloody sacrifice, once to be accomplished on the Cross, might be represented, . . . He *offered* up to God the Father His own Body and Blood under the species of bread and wine . . . (In the Mass), that same Christ is contained and *immolated* in an unbloody manner, who *once offered* (i.e., sacrificed) *Himself in a bloody manner on the altar of the Cross* . . . For the Victim is one and the same now *offering* by the ministry of priests, who then *offered* (i.e., sacrificed) Himself on the Cross, the manner alone of offering being different" (chapp. 1 and 2).⁶ Similarly in canons 3 and 4 we read: "If any one saith that the sacrifice of the Mass is but the bare commemoration of the *Sacrifice consummated on the Cross*, etc. If any one saith that the sacrifice of the Mass casts a blasphemy on the most holy *Sacrifice of Christ consummated on the Cross*, or that it derogates from it, let him be anathema." So likewise in the second chapter of this same council it is declared that "the fruits of this *bloody oblation* are received most plentifully through the unbloody one." Now from these declarations of Trent we may draw a perfectly valid theological argument. From Sacred Scripture, it is manifest, as we shall presently see, that Christ effected the redemption of the human race by means of the sacrifice of Himself on the Cross (Heb. V, 2); that in the act of redemption He was literally acting as Priest (Heb. IX, 12). The Council of Trent, therefore, in laying it down of faith that the Mass is a true sacrifice, presupposes that Calvary in itself is also a true sacrifice, for it says in unmistakable terms that while the Mass is a true oblation (i.e. sacrifice), still it does not detract from the one oblation (i.e. sacrifice) of the Cross.

Moreover, in session 5, canon 3,⁷ it anathematizes anyone who asserts that original sin was blotted out by any other means save by the *one redeeming bloody sacrifice of Christ*. In session 6, canon 7, it also expressly states that Christ by His most holy passion on the Cross merited for us justification and satisfaction to God, the Father.⁸ Hence, the sacrifice of the Cross considered simply in itself was a true and proper sacrifice.

⁶ Conc. Trid., sess. XXII, c. I, II; cf. Denz.-Bann., o. c., n. 938 and 940.

⁷ Cf. Denz.-Bann., o. c., n. 790.

⁸ Cf. Denz.-Bann., o. c., n. 749.

ARTICLE II

SCRIPTURAL PROOFS

1. *Old Testament*

It might be said that the story of the redemption of mankind by the Sacrifice of the Cross begins with the very history of man. In the beginning of Scripture, counter to the description of man's fall, is to be found the promise of a Redeemer, since it was not the will of God that fallen humanity should be abandoned without hope. As a result of His goodness, therefore, no sooner had sin entered into the world than we find God revealing the outline of the plan which His infinite mercy had evolved for the express purpose of reconciling the world to Himself. From that time on, the prophets never ceased reminding the Jewish nation of the promised Redeemer, and one after another under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, they drew His portrait, each adding his stroke till the whole was finished.

The principal characteristic of this promised Saviour was to be suffering. According to Isaias He was to suffer and die for our sins, and the death which He would voluntarily undergo would be a true and atoning sacrifice: "He was offered because it was His own will . . . He shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter. . . If He shall *lay down His life for sin* (*pro peccato*, *περὶ ἀμαρτίας*, *עֲשֵׂה*, that is to say, *a sacrifice for sin*). He shall see a long-lived seed."⁹ The prophet therefore compares the Saviour to a sheep led to the slaughter and not opening its mouth, as well as to a lamb, dumb before the shearer. All these pathetic symbols are intended to signify that Christ, though innocent, would undergo the painful sacrificial death in quiet resignation and peace. An eternal spiritual generation is designated as the fruit of His atoning sacrifice; the whole assembly of the predestined whom no one can number, all those whose names are written in the Book of Life were, and will be saved only by the redeeming blood of Christ, shed for them.

⁹ Isa., LIII, 7-10. All tradition accepts the Messianic character of this prophecy since it is supported by numerous passages of the New Testament, as for instance, Matth., VIII, 17; Mk., XV, 28; Luke, XXII, 37; Acts, XVIII, 35 ff.; I Pet., II, 22 ff., etc. *Vide* also the following authors: Knabenbauer, *Comment. in Isaiam*, II, p. 306, Paris, 1923; Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaïe*, pp. 323-343, Paris, 1905; and his article in *Rev. Bibl.*, p. 162, 1908; Feldmann, *Der Knecht Gottes in Is.*, pp. 45-55, Freiburg, 1907; also his *Die Weissagungen über den Gottesknecht im Buche Jesaias*, Münster, 1909; Corluy, *Spicilegium dogmatico-biblicum*, II, p. 84 ff., Gandavi, 1884.

2. *New Testament*A. *Testimony of St. Paul*

It is hardly necessary to state that among the New Testament writers, the Apostle Paul occupies the foremost position on account of his writings, his broad sense of vision and his profound learning. At his conversion he brought not only a generous heart and indomitable courage, but also a mind providentially trained to make him the veritable Apostle of the Gentiles. In his Epistles he reveals the principal tenets of the Christian faith in such forcible and precise language that his terminology has ever been regarded as the basis of all subsequent theology. One of the subjects characteristically Pauline is his system of the mystery of the New Testament Sacrifice; a fact which no one will gainsay. It is even insinuated by Paul Himself when he writes to the Corinthians: "We preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews indeed a stumbling block and unto the Gentiles foolishness, but unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks the power of God and His wisdom."¹⁰

The main idea, therefore, that runs through all Pauline theology is that of the reconciliation of mankind to its Creator through the medium of the Cross. The entire human race, Jew and Gentile alike, had fallen into sin, in consequence of which they were automatically doomed to everlasting perdition¹¹ since sin made us enemies of God¹² and objects of His wrath.¹³ Nevertheless, God had resolved to save us; making known to us when the fulness of time was come, the mystery of His will, which was to re-establish all things in Christ.¹⁴

This act of reparation, according to the Apostle, was accomplished by the death of Christ: "When we were yet enemies we were reconciled to God by the *death* of His Son."¹⁵ The sacrificial character of this death is clearly manifested in the texts where the effects of Redemption are attributed to the Blood of Christ: "When as yet we were sinners Christ died for us; much more, therefore, being now justified by His *Blood* shall we be saved from

¹⁰ I Cor., I, 23-24; II, 7.

¹¹ Cf. Rom., II, 2, 12; V, 16, 18.

¹² Cf. Rom., V, 10; XI, 28; Col., I, 21.

¹³ Rom., II, 5, 8; Eph., II, 3; Thess., I, 10.

¹⁴ Eph., I, 9, 10.

¹⁵ Rom., V, 10.

wrath through Him."¹⁶ In Christ, "we have redemption through His *Blood*, the remission of sins."¹⁷ Those "who some time were afar off, are made nigh by the Blood of Christ."¹⁸

Similarly in writing to the Colossians, the Apostle says: "In Him (Christ) it hath well pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell, and through Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, making peace through the *Blood of His Cross*, both as to the things on earth and the things that are in heaven. And you, whereas you were some time alienated and enemies in mind in evil works, yet now He hath reconciled in the body of His flesh through *death* to present you holy and unspotted and blameless before Him; if you so continue in the faith. . . ."¹⁹ Here the Apostle speaks of sinful mankind, which by its sin had fallen away from God, but which has been restored by Christ's own blood in an act that was truly sacrificial. In the chapter which follows he writes in a somewhat similar strain making use of a striking metaphor: "You, when you were dead in your sins and the uncircumcision of the flesh, He (the Father) hath quickened together with Him (Christ), forgiving you all offenses, blotting out the handwriting of the decree that was against us, which was contrary to us (τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν ὃ ἦν ἱπεναντίον ἡμῖν). He hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the Cross."²⁰ By the death of Christ on the Cross, therefore, this fatal document, the chirographum, was blotted out once and for all.

The Sacrifice of the Cross is for the Christians what the solemn day of *Kippurim* was for the Jews, namely, a sacrifice of expiation or propitiation. Hence St. Paul writes to the Romans that we became "justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ, whom God hath proposed (προέθετο, i.e., publicly erected on the Cross) to be propitiation (ἱλαστήριον, i.e., as a sacrifice of reconciliation) *through faith in His Blood*."²¹ The precise meaning of the word ἱλαστήριον has been the cause of much dispute among exegetes but it is now generally admitted both by Catholics and Protestants alike that the Apostle here has reference not to the propitiation of the Old Law, but to a real

¹⁶ Rom., V, 8, 9.

¹⁷ Eph., I, 7.

¹⁸ Eph., II, 13.

¹⁹ Col., I, 19-23.

²⁰ Col., II, 13, 14.

²¹ Rom., III, 24, 25.

atonement sacrifice by which God was to be reconciled to sinners.²² In other words, God gave up His Son and revealed Him on the Cross as a propitiatory sacrifice, which He "in His own Blood" (ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, that is, by shedding His blood), offered, and in which we share "by faith" (διὰ τῆς πίστεως).

In his Epistle to the Galatians, St. Paul says: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, for it is written: cursed is everyone that hangeth on a tree."²³ Here the Apostle speaks to the Jews, reminding them that because they have transgressed the Law, they have fallen under its curse.²⁴ This curse which afflicts everyone without exception is removed by a special and complete sacrificial act of Christ. The law commanded²⁵ that the body of the condemned should be hanged on the gibbet, and on such a death a curse was pronounced. This outward curse Christ took upon Himself in order to deliver us from the real curse that had fallen on us. In this way, St. Paul by an *ad hominem* argument turns the point of objection of the Jews, who were scandalized at the death of Christ on the Cross.

It was indeed the will of the Father that the work of salvation should be accomplished by the death of Christ on Calvary. But besides being the Victim on Calvary, Christ is also the Offerer, and therefore His will too, had its task to perform, by freely and generously accepting the Father's plan decreed from all eternity, thus meriting the reconciliation of mankind. His highest

²² "The term ἱλαστήριον occurs under different forms in Heb. II, 17 (ἱλασκεσθαι); I John II, 2, IV, 10 (ἱλασμός); Heb. IX, 5 (ἱλαστήριον), in the sense of propitiatory and Rom. III, 25 (ἱλαστήριον), Cf. also Mt. XVI, 22; Lk. XVIII, 13. These passages are all the guidance which the NT affords us for determining the meaning of the term. In the LXX ἱλαστήριον corresponds to *Kappōreth* (cf. Exod. XXV, 26) which designated the golden plate of the ark. *Kappōreth* is derived from the verb *Kāfar*, which, as is evident also from the Syriac and Arabic, has the fundamental meaning of "to wash," "to efface." The form *kīpper* has the same sense, and is usually employed to denote "to expiate" sin; whence is derived *kofer*, λύτρον, *propitiatio*, and *kapporeth*, ἱλαστήριον, *propitiatorium*."—Bandas in *The Master-Idea of St. Paul's Epistles*, n. I, p. 258, Bruges, 1926. Sanday, *The Epistle to the Romans*, says: "It is impossible to get rid from this passage of the double idea (1) of a sacrifice; (2) of a sacrifice which is propitiatory. In any case the phrase ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι carries with it the idea of sacrificial bloodshedding"; p. 91, Edinburgh, 1907. Cf. also Cornely. In *Ep. Rom.*, p. 190, Paris, 1896; Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der Neutestamentlichen Theologie*, II, p. 103, Tübingen, 1911; St. Aug. *Enarr. in Ps. 64*; R. A. Mollaun, *St. Paul's Concept of ΙΑΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ*, Washington, D. C., 1923.

²³ Gal. III, 13.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

²⁵ Deut., XXI, 22, 23.

act of obedience culminated in the voluntary acceptance of a bloody death, for "He humbled Himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the *death of the Cross*; for which cause God hath exalted Him, giving Him a name which is above all names."²⁶ Christ's was no mere passive death; it was a death actively willed and freely accepted. It was an absolute sacrifice since He "*died* for us . . . that we may live together with Him."²⁷ "*Christ died* for all that they also who live may not now live to themselves but unto Him who *died* for them and rose again."²⁸ "Why did Christ when as yet we were weak according to time, *die* for the ungodly? For scarce for a just man will one die, yet perhaps for a good man someone would dare to die; but God commendeth His charity towards us, because when as yet we were sinners according to the flesh, Christ died for us."²⁹ Moreover, "Christ loved the Church and *delivered Himself* up for it that He might sanctify it."³⁰ He delivered Himself in a real complete sacrificial act for the sake of each of us, and this accounts for the grievousness of scandal. "Destroy not Him with thy meat for whom Christ died."³¹ In applying this to himself the Apostle says: "Christ Jesus came unto this world to save sinners, of whom I am the chief."³² He "loved me and *delivered Himself* for me."³³ And should it be asked why He laid down His life, St. Paul replies that He died for our sins, generously giving His life for the deliverance of mankind.³⁴ Furthermore, to restrain the faithful from sin and to animate them to the practice of virtue, the Apostle represents to them the intimate and courageous love of Christ, by which He offered Himself for mankind. "Be ye therefore followers of God, as most dear children, and walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us and hath *delivered Himself an oblation* (προσφοράν) and a *sacrifice* (θυσίαν, i.e., a sacrifice of blood which is complete in itself) to God for an odor of sweetness."³⁵

²⁶ Phil., II, 8, 9.

²⁷ I Thess., V, 10.

²⁸ 2 Cor., V, 15.

²⁹ Rom., V, 6-9.

³⁰ Eph., V, 25, 26. The oft-repeated expression "delivered Himself" is distinctly sacrificial and always has reference to Christ's death on the Cross as the act whereby Christ gave or delivered Himself (παρέδωκεν, and sometimes even without the preposition, as in St. Matth., XX 28.)

³¹ Rom., XIV, 15; I Cor., VIII, 11.

³² I Tim., I, 15.

³³ Gal., II, 20.

³⁴ I Cor., XV, 3; Gal., I, 4.

³⁵ Eph., V, I, 2. "Christus obtulit sacrificium suavitatis summae pro perfecta

Moreover, Christ's Sacrifice of Calvary, according to the same Apostle, was of itself efficacious, for by it everyone is made a partaker of His righteousness just as all had been made partakers in Adam's sin.³⁶ By His *blood*, man is reconciled and justified.³⁷ He was the great price "Who gave *Himself* a redemption for all" (ὁ δὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀντίλυτρον ὑπὲρ πάντων).³⁸ "Christ gave *Himself* for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity and might cleanse to Himself an acceptable people,"³⁹ namely, the "Church . . . which He purchased with His own *blood*"⁴⁰ and sanctified, presenting it to Himself as a spouse without blemish.⁴¹

St. Paul, therefore, in pointing out the Sacrifice of Calvary as the center of God's plan and the spring of all virtues, which redeems, sanctifies and restores mankind to God's favor, does not merely reiterate the fundamental tenet of our faith, but what is more, he explains its supernatural potency by employing ideas of ransom, reconciliation and vicarious satisfaction to indicate the absoluteness of Christ's sacrifice.

But besides the above passages of Pauline theology relevant to the Sacrifice of the Cross, we also have the Pauline Epistle to the Hebrews, which deals professedly with Christ's priesthood and sacrifice; forming the outstanding and irrefragable proof of the verity of Christ's vicarious and atoning death on Calvary.

St. Paul's primary object in this epistle is to demonstrate the preeminence and superiority of the New Law over the Old, due to the perfection of its priesthood which is evinced by the grandeur of its Priest and the power of its sacrifice. Having, therefore, first spoken of how Christ is a Highpriest according to the order of

Dei placatione."—St. Bon. *Breviloq.*, p. 4, c. 9. "In this passage there seems to be a clear allusion to Ps. XXXIX (XL), 7: Θυσίαν, καὶ προσφοράν (זֶבֶח וְחִטָּה) οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμας δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. ὀλοκούτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας (זֶבֶח וְחִטָּה) οὐκ ἤτησας (cf. Heb. X, 5-8). Of the four terms which correspond to the four principal kinds of Mosaic sacrifices Saint Paul retains only the first two, which, in reality, embrace the other two. But if the Apostle here undoubtedly speaks of Christ as a sacrifice, he does not indicate the nature of the sacrifice. It is probable that προσφορά as the more general term relates not to the death only but to our Lord's life of obedience, to His θυσία ζῶσα, while θυσία refers more particularly to His atoning death."—Bandas, *o. c.*, p. 257, n. I.

³⁶ Rom., V, 18, 19.

³⁷ Rom., V, 9, 10.

³⁸ I Tim., II, 6.

³⁹ Tit., II, 14.

⁴⁰ Acts, XX, 28.

⁴¹ Eph., V, 25-27.

Melchisedech,⁴² he goes on to show how this priesthood excels the Levitical, since it is eternal and efficacious, by virtue of the Hypostatic union; and is thereby destined to set aside and replace the temporary, inefficacious and consequently inadequate Levitical priesthood.⁴³ And since priesthood and sacrifice are correlative terms,⁴⁴ he proves the excellence of Christ's priesthood by a comparison of His sacrifice with that of the Mosaic Law.⁴⁵ These sacrifices were typical of that of Christ, and this in three ways: First, the ceremonial and external sanctification which was the effect of the Levitical sacrifices, typified the true spiritual sanctification of grace obtained only by the bloody sacrifice of Christ. St. Paul does not mention any other liturgical act which might have been required for its completeness; there was no need of it, since it was complete in itself. "For if the blood of goats and of oxen, and the ashes of an heifer being sprinkled, sanctify such as are defiled, to the cleansing of the flesh, how much more shall the *blood of Christ*, who by the Holy Ghost *offered Himself* unspotted unto God, cleanse our conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?"⁴⁶ Secondly, the Old Testament, by which an earthly inheritance was conferred upon the Israelites, was initiated and dedicated by the blood of animal sacrifices; "Wherefore neither was the first (testament) indeed dedicated without blood"; which prefigured the dedication of the New Testament, containing, as it does, the promise of eternal inheritance, by the blood of Christ. "Therefore He is the Mediator of the New Testament, that *by means of His death*. . . . they that are called may receive the promise of eternal inheritance. For where there is a testament, the death of the testator must of necessity come in."⁴⁷ Thirdly, as the tabernacle and everything else pertaining to the Levitical ministry were consecrated and cleansed with the blood of sacrifices, so it was necessary that the heavenly things, that is, the spotless Church of Christ with all its divine gifts and means of grace, should be consecrated by the blood of a greater and nobler sacrifice.⁴⁸

This sacrifice of blood is the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ

⁴² Heb., V.

⁴³ Heb., VII.

⁴⁴ Heb., VII, 3.

⁴⁵ Heb., IX.

⁴⁶ Heb., IX, 13, 14.

⁴⁷ Heb., IX, 15-18.

⁴⁸ Heb., IX, 21-28; cf. Eph., V, 25, 26.

offered Himself on the altar of the Cross. For "Christ being come an highpriest of the good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this creation, neither by the blood of goats or calves, but *by His own blood*, entered once into the Holies having obtained eternal redemption . . . He is the Mediator of the New Testament, that *by means of His death*. . . they that are called, may receive the promise of eternal inheritance. . . Nor yet that He should *offer Himself* often, as the Highpriest entereth into the Holies every year, with the blood of others; for then He ought to have *suffered* (died) often from the beginning of the world; but now once at the end of ages He hath appeared for the destruction of sin by the *sacrifice of Himself*,"⁴⁹ Here the antithesis is between suffering often and the one all-atoning sacrifice. The Apostle evidently understands the terms *suffering* and *oblation* to be synonymous in our Lord's case: "If it had been necessary that He should *offer* Himself often, then He ought to have suffered often." This clearly implies that His one great sacrifice was suffering, that is, His voluntary death on the Cross.⁵⁰ "So also Christ was *offered once* (προσενεχθείς, that is, one complete sacrificial act—not an act composed of distinct parts) to exhaust the sins of many."⁵¹

Moreover, "we are sanctified by the oblation (διὰ τῆς προσφορᾶς, a complete sacrificial act)⁵² of one body of Jesus Christ once (once for all). . . . But this man, *offering one sacrifice* (προσενέχχας θυσίαν, a complete bloody sacrifice) for sins, for ever sitteth on the right hand of God. . . . For *by one oblation* (μᾶ προσφορὰ a complete sacrifice in itself). He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."⁵³ In these texts, the sacrifice of Christ is represented as a complete sacrificial act in itself; not one begun

⁴⁹ Heb., IX, 11, 12, 15, 25, 26.

⁵⁰ The word *Passion* in reference to Christ has commonly two significations, namely, a *broad* and a *strict sense*. In the first case it signifies the whole series of sufferings anterior to, and including His death. In the second case, it is used exclusively of His death (v. g. in the Nicene Creed "crucifixus etiam pro nobis, *passus* et sepultus est"). When used in this restricted sense it is identified with *oblation* and sacrifice—cf. St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, qq. 46–49 where passion and death are used synonymously when he speaks of Christ's death as a true sacrifice; in particular, *vide* q. 47, a. 2 in c., and ad I, q. 48, a. 3 ad 3. In the broad sense of the word, the Passion of Christ actually began with the Agony in the Garden, and not in the Last Supper, for Christ said explicitly: "With desire I have desired to eat the Pasch with you *before* I suffer" (Luke, XXII, 15). If, therefore, the Passion of Christ was a true sacrifice, then the Last Supper was not a part of that sacrifice.

⁵¹ Heb., IX, 9, 11, 12, 15, 25, 26, 28; cf. also VII, 27.

⁵² Heb., X, 10.

⁵³ Heb., X, 10, 12, 14.

elsewhere and merely completed on the Cross. It is, in a word, absolute and wholly independent; it is never to be repeated in the same bloody manner, and certainly not to be prolonged, for it endures forever in its efficacy.

And lastly, "the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the Holies by the highpriest for sin, are burned without the camp. Wherefore Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people by His own blood, *suffered* (i.e., died on the Cross) without the gate."⁵⁴ In this last passage, Jesus dying upon the Cross on the hill of Calvary, is compared with the sacrifice of expiation of the Mosaic Law,⁵⁵ which is declared to be the prototype shadowed forth in figure by that sacrifice. We may therefore conclude that Jesus dying without the gate, poured forth His blood once and for all as a *full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice* for the sins of the whole world, independently of any previous act which might be taken as an inchoative sacrificial or liturgical rite essential to His one bloody sacrifice consummated on Calvary.

B. Testimony of St. John

Having briefly considered the Pauline doctrinal synthesis concerning the Sacrifice of Calvary, we may now examine the Epistles of St. John and St. Peter further to confirm the conclusion which we have just reached, namely, that Calvary does not depend on the Last Supper for its sacrificial character.

In the Old Law, the lamb was one of the animals most commonly sacrificed, as for instance, at the Pasch and in the morning and evening sacrifice, etc.⁵⁶ Hence, as Christ was prefigured by these lambs, it is quite natural that in the New Law He should often be represented and extolled as the true Lamb, the Lamb without blemish. This is a strikingly characteristic designation and is intended to express that the death of Christ is a complete sacrifice in itself, that is, a propitiatory sacrifice in the true and proper sense of the term; just as the sacrifice of the lambs in the Old Law was always complete and propitiatory. Thus for instance St. John alludes to the Saviour as "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world,"⁵⁷ that is, who reconciles heaven and

⁵⁴ Heb., XIII, 11, 12.

⁵⁵ Lev., XVI, 27.

⁵⁶ Exod., XXIX, 38 ff; Num., XXVIII, I ff.

⁵⁷ "Ecce agnus (ὁ ἄγνός, i.e., the prophetically foretold lamb, as a victim) Dei, ecce qui tollit (ὁ αἵρων, i.e., who has the power to take upon Himself, and thereby to take away) peccatum mundi (i.e., all the sins of all men)."—John, I, 29.

earth by the *shedding of His blood*. "He appeared to take away our sins"⁵⁸ and "that He might destroy the works of the devil."⁵⁹ "*He hath laid down His life for us* and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren."⁶⁰ In the canticle sung to the Lamb by the elect, we read: "Thou wast *slain* and hast redeemed us to God in thy *blood* out of every tribe."⁶¹ The blood of Christ cleanses us from our sins:⁶² it is a bath of salvation in which the elect "had washed their robes."⁶³ "He is a propitiation (*ἱλασμός*) for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world"⁶⁴ because God "hath first loved us and sent His Son to be a propitiation" (*ἱλασμόν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν*).⁶⁵ According to St. John, therefore, the salvation of the world was accomplished by the one only absolute sacrifice of Christ wherein He freely shed His blood.

C. Testimony of St. Peter

According to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the Blood of Christ cleanses us, and the faithful are blessed because they are predestined by the Father to be sprinkled with the Blood of Christ.⁶⁶ He encourages and exhorts Christians to lead a holy life in view of the glorious *ransom* by which they have been redeemed. "You were not redeemed with corruptible things, as gold and silver," he says, "but with the *precious blood of Christ*, as of a lamb unspotted and undefiled."⁶⁷ "Who His own self bore our sins in His body upon the tree, that being dead to sins should live to justice, by whose stripes you were healed."⁶⁸ Therefore, Christ absolutely sinless and holy, is the Lamb, the victim perfectly faultless and infinitely pleasing to God whose *blood effaces all sin and effects true reconciliation*, for He "*died once for our sins, the just for the unjust, that He might offer us to God, being put to death* indeed in the flesh, but enlivened in the spirit."⁶⁹ It was His death, therefore, that constituted His one bloody sacrificial

⁵⁸ I John, III, 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶¹ Apoc., V, 9; cp. XIV, 3, 4.

⁶² I John, I, 5-7.

⁶³ Apoc., VII, 14—cp. XXII, 14.

⁶⁴ I John, II, 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 10.

⁶⁶ I Peter, I, 1, 2.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 18, 19; cp. II Peter, II, I.

⁶⁸ I Peter, II, 24.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

act a truly complete and absolute sacrifice in itself. No other element was required: "He died once for our sins," and hence, that act alone was sufficient to accomplish our redemption.

D. *Testimony of the Gospels*

When Christ began His public life, the purpose of His preaching was the promise of an approaching deliverance from sin to be effected eventually by His atoning death. This He foresaw and accepted beforehand as a part of His sacred mission.⁷⁰ Thus, for instance, on one occasion when he was instructing His disciples, Jesus explicitly declared that He had come not "to be ministered unto but to minister and to *give His life* (δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν, i.e., His soul, a distinctly hieratic term to signify His life, His very self; in other words, sacrifice) a redemption (λύτρον)⁷¹ for man."⁷² Jesus, therefore, in this passage taken together with its context is seen to set His own conduct against that of kings. Kings are wont to give orders; He gives Himself, as He has come to serve and not to be served. This service which is the end and object of His mission, will be performed until the last day of His earthly career when He will lay down His life for the redemption and deliverance of many.

In St. John's Gospel we see that the principal act of Christ's mission was the voluntary acceptance of a bloody death for the redemption of mankind. "Therefore doth the Father love me, because *I lay down my life* that I may take it again; no man taketh it away from me, but *I lay it down* of Myself and I have power to take it up again."⁷³ "I am the good shepherd . . . and *I lay down my life* for my sheep."⁷⁴

Shortly before His departure from this world, Christ, in His prayer as Highpriest, called His *death a sanctification*; that is, a

⁷⁰ Cf. Mk., II, 19, 20; VIII, 31; X, 32-38; XII, 7, 8; XIV, 18, 25-32, 34-42; Matth., IX, 15; XVI, 21-23; XVII, 21, 22; XX, 17-22; XXI, 38; XXVI, 2, 12, 29, 31-36, 37-47; Lk., V, 35; IX, 22, 31, 44, 45; XII, 32, 33, 50; XVIII, 31-35; XX, 14, 15; XXII, 15, 16, 21, 34, 40-47.

⁷¹ "Vox λύτρον ex usu biblico significat pecuniam, qua quis utitur ad redimendum campum (*Levit.* 25, 24-25, 51), servam (*Lev.* 19, 20) captivos (*Isa.* 45, 13), ad liberandum se ab onere debito (*Num.* 3, 46-51), a poenis (*Num.* 35, 3) aut morte promerita (*Exod.* 21, 30; *Prov.* 13, 8). Igitur incisum λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν non alium sensum admittit quam hunc: animam Christi esse pretium, quo homines redimantur a servitute morali, peccati scil. ac diaboli."—Van Noort, *De Deo Redemptore*, p. III, n. I, Bussum, 1908.

⁷² Mark, X, 45; Matth., XX, 28.

⁷³ John X, 17 ff.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

dedication and offering of Himself for His disciples, to merit for them true sanctity, interior purification from sin and justification. Thus He says: "For them do *I sanctify Myself*, that they also may be sanctified in truth" (ὅτι ἐὰν αὐτῶν ἀγιάσω ἑμαυτὸν ἵνα ᾧσιν καὶ ἡγιασμένοι).⁷⁵ According to the Old Testament ritual, ἀγιάζω means: 'I offer in sacrifice.' This is the interpretation still common among Catholic exegetes, although there seems to be a difficulty in the above rendition owing to the fact that in the latter portion of this text (as well as in verse 17) the same verb is used in a somewhat different sense. Maldonatus explains this by saying that Christ "as was His custom, plays on the double meaning" of this verb, which in biblical terminology has reference either to the person or thing sanctified, or the rite by which it is sanctified, that is, either holiness or the efficient cause of holiness.⁷⁶ Christ, therefore, sanctifies Himself, that is, *He gives His life on the Cross* as a victim that His disciples may be sanctified and this sanctification is in truth (ἐν ἀληθεία); namely, it is real and inward, not merely legal and outward, as that which resulted from the Old Testament sacrifices. In this manner Christ repeals the Old Testament Law and its useless works by declaring Himself the perfect Victim by whose sacrificial death alone man could secure sanctification.

To say, therefore, that the Sacrifice of the Cross is not of itself a sacrifice in the true and proper sense, is an assertion which may be gainsaid as gratuitously as it is made; all the more so since we have seen that it is the great center and focus of God's redeeming action, to which all the sacrifices point as typical and prophetic acts. All the ceremonial prescriptions of the Mosaic Law were not, as we have already seen, always entirely essential to the notion of sacrifice, for the absence of certain rites and forms would not in any way affect the sacrificial act itself. What is primarily essential in any liturgical function is the authoritative act (internal and external) of a duly appointed person, which is designed and performed primarily to give honor and adoration to God. Of this essential requisite, nothing can be said to have been wanting in the Sacrifice of the Cross. For this reason we may conclude in summing up the testimony of the New Testament hagiographers

⁷⁵ John, XVII, 19.—Cf. St. Cyril Alex. *Lib. II*, in *Joan.* c. 25; St. John Chrysos. *Hom.* 81 in *Joan.*

⁷⁶ Maldonatus, *In Ioan.*, XVI, col. 1832 ff. Paris, 1668.

that the foregoing passages, taken either severally or cumulatively, show beyond the least doubt that our Lord's one hallowing and atoning Sacrifice on Calvary was laid on Him by God; it was freely accepted and offered independently of any event or circumstance, either before or after its consummation on Calvary.

ARTICLE III

Patristic Proofs

That Christ's death on the Cross was of itself the one only absolute sacrifice offered by our Divine Redeemer is likewise clear from Apostolic Tradition which has ever faithfully adhered to the obvious teaching of Holy Writ on this point.

Thus for instance, the author of the epistle of St. Barnabas (A. D. 71)⁷⁷ in writing to the Jews, is evidently trying to justify Christ's death, which, to them was a source of scandal. As might naturally be expected he does so by appealing to the Old Testament prophecies of which the death of Christ was the fulfilment. He shows that the Redemption of mankind was accomplished by Christ when He gave His flesh to destruction by sprinkling us with His blood and offering it up as a sacrifice. "For our sins He was going to offer the vessel of the spirit (i.e., His human nature hypostatically united to the Divinity) as a sacrifice, in order that the type established in Isaac upon the altar might be fulfilled."⁷⁸ Hence Calvary was a complete sacrifice in the same way that the sacrifice of Isaac was a full sacrifice. Of itself it was efficacious, for by it, man's sins were forgiven. No mention is made of any formal offering (in the strict sense) having taken place elsewhere; Redemption is simply spoken of as having been effected on the Cross.

St. Clement of Rome calls Christ "Our Highpriest,"⁷⁹ the "Highpriest of our souls,"⁸⁰ "the Highpriest of our oblations";⁸¹ "Who has come to save us," and who "has delivered His blood for us, His flesh for our flesh, His soul for our souls."⁸² It was through this blood that the redemption of all mankind was

⁷⁷ Cf. M. d'Herbigny, *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, t. I, p. 417 and 540 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ep. Barn Ap.*, c. 7, n. 3-5; cf. c. 8, n. 2, 3; c. 5, n. 1, 2; Ed. Funk, I, 23; 58-60, 62, 50, Tübingen, 1901.

⁷⁹ *Ep. ad I Cor.*, 64.—Ed. Funk, I, p. 182.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 61, p. 180.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 36, p. 144.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 49, p. 162.

wrought.⁸³ According to St. Clement, then, it is to Christ's self-sacrifice that we owe our salvation; a sacrifice which was enacted completely in the act of delivering up His Blood. It was therefore on Calvary that this offering took place; an offering which in no way depended on the Supper as a preliminary liturgical requisite.

St. Ignatius considers the object of Christ's mission as the salvation of mankind, which was accomplished by His bloody death on the Cross. Thus in his epistle to the faithful of Smyrna, he speaks of Christ "crucified for us" and of the "fruits which accrue to us from the divine and blessed passion. . . For He suffered all this for our sake and for our salvation." Further on he speaks of "Christ's flesh which suffered for our sins."⁸⁴ The result of His death was our eternal redemption; "Christ is our Saviour. . . who offered Himself for us as a victim."⁸⁵ This is a distinct allusion to Eph. V, 2, and therefore is to be taken in the Pauline sense that Christ's oblation on the Cross was a whole sacrifice in itself whereby the redemption of mankind was accomplished.

In his 'Dialogue with Trypho,' St. Justin answers the objections of the scandalized Jewish Rabbi by showing that Christ's death was the fulfilment of the prophecies and the reason for the forgiveness of our sins. He tells us that it was Christ's "Passion which saved men,"⁸⁶ and that it was His Cross which restored them to life.⁸⁷ Christ had first to die, according to the prophecy of Isaias, that sinners might be healed by His sufferings.⁸⁸ In the Old Testament the scape-goat is a figure which stands for Christ, "who offered Himself in sacrifice for all sinners desiring to do penance."⁸⁹ The paschal lamb too, was a figure of the "salvation which Christ's blood would obtain for mankind."⁹⁰ The Jewish sacrifices and oblations were merely figurative; true forgiveness of sins is to be obtained only "by the blood of Christ, who died for this end."⁹¹ To St. Justin, Christ's death appears as the literal fulfilment of the Old Testament sacrifices. . . . These latter were true and complete sacrifices, but they were

⁸³ P. G., I, 223; M. J. Rouët de Journel, *Enchiridion Patristicum*, n. 12, Freiburg, 1922.

⁸⁴ *Ad Smyrn.* I, 2-11; VII, I.

⁸⁵ *Ep. ad Eph.* c. I; P. G., V, 646.

⁸⁶ *Dial., Cum Tryph. Jud.*, c. 74.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 40; P. G., VI, 564.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, III.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

only figurative of the Sacrifice of the Cross. Hence, like its types, Calvary must have been a whole sacrifice, as no mention is made of any previous formal oblation which was destined to give it its outward liturgical character. There was no need of it, for it was a true and perfect oblation of which all previous sacrifices were only types.

St. Irenaeus repeats the traditional teachings concerning the expiatory death of Christ. It was Christ, he tells us, who died for us;⁹² then, quoting the oft-repeated texts of the Apostle, he tells us that this death redeems⁹³ and reconciles us.⁹⁴ Christ's death is a sacrifice, in which God offers His own Son for our redemption; it was prefigured by that of Isaac,⁹⁵ and as this was truly a complete sacrifice, the same must also hold good with regard to its Antitype.⁹⁶

To St. Hippolytus, salvation is connected with the Cross and nails of our Lord.⁹⁷ Christ's death is an expiatory sacrifice; He is the Lamb of the true Pasch, slain for us,⁹⁸ and whose blood cleanses the world.⁹⁹ His death blotted out and expiated our sins when He nailed them on the Cross.¹⁰⁰

According to St. Athanasius, it was through the death of the Saviour that we obtained immortality.¹⁰¹ As a matter of fact, our salvation would not have been possible save by the Cross¹⁰² where He paid our debt for us (*ἀνθ' ἡμῶν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἀποδιδούς*). Christ became our ransom¹⁰³ by offering Himself to God as a sacrifice¹⁰⁴ and thereby redeeming us from our sins and washing us in His blood.¹⁰⁵ On account of sin the earth was cursed; Christ came to destroy this curse¹⁰⁶ for our sakes.¹⁰⁷ It is plain, therefore,

⁹² *Adv. Haer.*, II, 16, 6; III, 20, 2; IV, 27, 2.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, III, 16, 9; V, I, 2; V, 2, I, 2; V, 14, 3, 4.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 16, 19, V, 14, 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 5, 4.

⁹⁶ Cf. Franzelin, *De Verbo Incarnato*, thes. 49, Romae, 1881; Hugo Weiss *Die Messianischen Vorbilder im Alten Testament*, Freiburg, 1905.

⁹⁷ *In Sanct. Pascha*, frag. IV. Achelis ed., p. 270. Leipzig, 1897.

⁹⁸ *In Elcanam et Annam*, frag. IV. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁹⁹ *In Genes.*, XXIV. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, VII, 1. c. p. 54.

¹⁰¹ *Cp. Orat.* II, 55. *Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, 2; *De Incarnat. Verbi*, 54.

¹⁰² *Orat. cont. Arian.*, III, 58; *Orat. de Incarn.*, 9, 26.

¹⁰³ *Sermo Major de Fide*, 26.

¹⁰⁴ *Orat. de Incarnat. Verbi*, 6-10, 20, etc.; cf. *Ad Epictetum*, 6; *Ad Adelphum*, 6.

¹⁰⁵ *Sermo Major de Fide*, 36.—P. G. XXVI, 1290; *Epist. ad Epictetum*, 4,—*Ibid.*, 1058. *Oratio* II, 7.—*Ibid.* 162.

¹⁰⁶ *Omnia mihi tradita sunt*, 2.—P. G., XXV, 210, 211.

¹⁰⁷ *Ep. ad. Epict.* 8. P. G., XXVI, 1068. *Cp. Orat.* III.—*Ibid.* 395.

that in the mind of St. Athanasius, Christ's one redemptive sacrifice was enacted on the Cross, but not as the complementary part of a sacrifice which had preceded it, for he nowhere links it with any formal act that might lead us to draw this conclusion.

Akin to the teaching of St. Athanasius on the Sacrifice of Calvary is that of St. Gregory of Nyssa. "Christ is our Redeemer," he says, "because He gave Himself a ransom for us. Hence we no longer belong to ourselves; we are the property of Him who bought us at the price of his life, and we must not live save for Him."¹⁰⁸ We also find this idea expressed under the figure of the ancient sacrifice. Christ is the paschal lamb slain for us; He offered Himself as a victim (*θυσίαν*) for us.¹⁰⁹ In his sermon 'De Occursu Domini,' he shows that the bloody sacrifices of the Old Law were only imperfect figures of the Sacrifice of Christ, which alone was efficacious and final. "For Christ is the holy, innocent, spotless, and sinless priest who offered Himself to God in the name and in the stead of mankind. . . . Thereby He became the ransom of many, or rather the ransom of all nations."¹¹⁰ He also tells us that Christ's sacrifice was expiatory, for in the words of St. Paul he reminds us that Christ is our propitiation in His blood,¹¹¹ and in the words of *Hebrews* that he offered Himself once, at the end of time, to blot out sin.¹¹² From this, St. Gregory infers that by this death the whole world was cleansed.¹¹³ With His own blood He presented the priestly expiation for our sins. . . . He sacrificed His own body for the sins of the world. . . . He humbled Himself in the form of a servant and offered Himself in sacrifice for us.¹¹⁴

Eusebius,¹¹⁵ Didymus,¹¹⁶ St. Basil,¹¹⁷ St. Cyril of Jerusalem,¹¹⁸ St. Gregory of Nazianzus¹¹⁹ and St. Chrysostom¹²⁰ also speak explicitly of Christ's redemptive Sacrifice on Calvary. Jesus, they

¹⁰⁸ *De perf. Christiani forma*,—P. G., XLVI, 261, 262. Cp. also *Cont. Eunom.* V.—P. G., XLV, 693.

¹⁰⁹ *De perf. Christ. forma*, I. c. 264.

¹¹⁰ *De Occursu Domini*.—P. G., XLVI, 1161–1164.

¹¹¹ *De perf. Christ. forma*, I. c.

¹¹² *De Occursu Domini*, I. c. 1157.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 1168.

¹¹⁴ *Cont. Eunom.* VI.—P. G., XLV, 717.

¹¹⁵ *Demonstr. evang.*, IV, 12.—P. G., XXII, 284; *Journal*, n. 669.

¹¹⁶ *De Trinit.*, II, 12, 21, 27.—P. G., XXXIX, 860, 904, 944.

¹¹⁷ *In Psalm.*, XLVIII, III, 4.—P. G., XXIX, 437

¹¹⁸ *Catech.*, III, 12, P. G., XXXIII, 444.

¹¹⁹ *Orat.*, XLV, 28.—P. G., XXXVI, 661.

¹²⁰ *In Galat.*, II, 8.—P. G., LXI, 646.

say, gives Himself and surrenders His life as the price (*ἀντίλυτρον*) of our redemption; He is our ransom. As He took all our sins upon Himself, and as He carries, as it were, all of us in Himself, He atones for our iniquities through His sufferings and death. "He has freed us from the curse by becoming for us a curse; He has undergone for us a shameful death."¹²¹ We all die in Him, together with our sin. Jesus is a victim, and His death was a true, voluntary sacrifice in which sin has been sacrificed together with Him who had taken it upon Himself.¹²² This sacrifice was capable of appeasing the Father and making Him propitious to us;¹²³ and He has in truth blotted out our sins; He has done away with the fault and with the punishment, and has reconciled us to God.¹²⁴

"Had Jesus Christ not died for us," says St. Cyril of Alexandria, "we should not have been saved."¹²⁵ Moreover, he tells us that Jesus is our ransom (*ἀντάλλαγμα*, *ἀντίλυτρον*)¹²⁶ our victim who offered Himself as a sacrifice for sin, and of which the paschal lamb and the emissary goat were figures.¹²⁷ By his death and sacrifice, He paid, and through Him, mankind paid what it owed for its sins,¹²⁸ and thus they were expiated.¹²⁹

Theodoret explains that Christ was substituted for mankind and underwent chastisement in its stead. His death was our ransom,¹³⁰ a free and spontaneous sacrifice, destined to atone for our faults, and in this manner pay our debts and reconcile us to God.¹³¹

To St. John Damascene, it is the Cross alone,¹³² which saves us who were reduced to slavery, made liable to punishment and

¹²¹ Basil, *Regulae fusius tractatae*, Interrog. II, 4.

¹²² Greg. Naz., *Or.* XLV, 13; IV, 68, 78; VI, 4; XXXVIII, 16; Cyrill. Hier., *Catech.* XIII, 28; Chrysost., *In Epist. ad Coloss.*, hom. VI, 3; *In epist. ad Gal.*, c. II, 8.

¹²³ Didymus, *De Trinit.*, III, 27; Chrysost., *In epist. ad Hebr.* hom. XVII, I.

¹²⁴ Chrysost., *In Ioan.*, hom. LXV, I; *De cruce et latrone*, hom., I, I.

¹²⁵ *Glaphyra in Exodum*, II, 2.—P. G., LXIX, 437.

¹²⁶ *De Adorat. in spiritu et verit.*, XV.—P. G., LXVIII, 972. *Glaphyr. in Exod.*, II.—P. G., LXIX, 480; *Quod unus sit Christus*.—P. G., LXXV, 1337.

¹²⁷ *Glaphyr. in Exod.*, II. *Ibid.*, 425; *Glaphyr. in Levit.* *Ibid.*, 588, 589; *Adv. Iul.* IX.—P. G., LXXVI, 966 ff.

¹²⁸ *De Adorat. in spir. et verit.*, III.—P. G., LXVIII, 293-297.

¹²⁹ *De recta fide ad reginas*, II, 7. P. G., LXXVI, 1344.

¹³⁰ *In epist. ad Rom.*, III, 24.—P. G. LXXXII, 84; *In epist. ad Timoth.*, II, 6.—*Ibid.*, 800.

¹³¹ *In Daniel.*, IX, 24.—P. G., LXXXI, 1472; *In Isaiam*, LIII, 4-12, P. G., LXXI, 441-444; *In epist. ad Rom.*, V, 8.—P. G., LXXXII, 97; *In Ephes.*, II, 14.—*Ibid.*, 524; *De Providentia*, Sermo X.—P. G., LXXXIII, 754-757.

¹³² *De fide orthodoxa*, IV, 11.—P. G., XCIV, 1128, 1129, 1130.

subject to a curse. It is Christ Himself who takes our place¹³³ and in our stead takes the curse upon Himself.¹³⁴ He pays our ransom to God the Father, offering Himself as a sacrifice,¹³⁵ appeasing His wrath in Divine Blood, and becoming the propitiation (*ἱλαστήριον*) for our sins.¹³⁶

St. Hillary maintains that our salvation was accomplished only on the Cross¹³⁷ where Christ's death, which was a sacrifice, took away our curse,¹³⁸ destroyed the decree of death,¹³⁹ expiated our sins¹⁴⁰ and reconciled us with God.¹⁴¹

St. Ambrose regards Christ's death as a sacrifice¹⁴² which was foreshadowed in that of Abel¹⁴³ and in all the oblations of the Old Testament.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, it is the only enduring sacrifice by which we are redeemed from sin,¹⁴⁵ for by it Christ nailed our sins to the Cross¹⁴⁶, thus taking away the decree of death that was against us¹⁴⁷ and thereby destroying death itself.¹⁴⁸

In Ambrosiaster, we find a striking reflection of the teaching of St. Paul, namely, that Christ's death was a sacrifice in an odor of sweetness,¹⁴⁹ and that by it man was redeemed and delivered from his sins.¹⁵⁰ God is said to have delivered (*tradidisse*) Christ when He permitted Him to be killed.¹⁵¹ This deliverance, therefore, in the mind of Ambrosiaster, took place on Calvary and not at the Last Supper.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, III, 25, 27.—P. G., *Ibid.*, 1093, 1095, 1096; *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, V, 22.—P. G., XCV, 736, 737; *In epist. II ad Corinth.*, V, 22.—P. G., XCV, 736, 737; *In epist. I ad Timoth.*, II, 26.—P. G., *Ibid.*, 1004.

¹³⁴ *In epist. ad Galat.*, III, 13.—P. G. XCV, 796.

¹³⁵ *De Fide Orth.*, III, 27.—P. G. XCIV, 1096.

¹³⁶ *In epist. ad Rom.* III, 24, 25.—P. G., XCV, 464, 465.

¹³⁷ *In Matth.*, IV, 9.—P. L., IX, 935.

¹³⁸ *Ps.*, LIII, 13.—P. L., IX, 345; *Ps.*, CXXXV, 15.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 776; Cp. *In Matth.*, XX, 12.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 1033; XXXII, 6.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 1072.

¹³⁹ *De Trin.*, I, 13.—P. L., X, 35; Cp. *Ibid.*, IX, 10.—P. L., X, 289, and *Ps.* XVII, 23.—P. L., IX, 459.

¹⁴⁰ *Ps.*, LXIV, 4.—P. L., IX, 415.

¹⁴¹ *Ps.*, CXXXIX, 9.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 723.

¹⁴² *Ps.*, XXXVIII, 25.—P. L., XIV, 1051.

¹⁴³ *De Sacram. Inc.*, I, 4.—P. L., XVI, 819.

¹⁴⁴ *De Spiritu Sancto*, I, 4.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 705.

¹⁴⁵ *Luc.*, X, 8.—P. L., XV, 1806.

¹⁴⁶ *De Paen.*, lib. I, III, 13.—P. L., XVI, 470.

¹⁴⁷ *De Paen.*, lib. III, II, 13.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 592.

¹⁴⁸ *De Fide*, lib. III, XI, 84.—P. L., XVI, 607.

¹⁴⁹ *Ps. Ambros. Rom.*, V, 6-10.—P. L., XVII, 90-91.

¹⁵⁰ *Eph.* I, 7.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 374.

¹⁵¹ *Eph.*, V, 2.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 394.

So likewise according to St. Jerome,¹⁵² St. Augustine,¹⁵³ St. Leo,¹⁵⁴ St. Anselm,¹⁵⁵ and St. Gregory the Great,¹⁵⁶ Christ's bloody death on Calvary was truly a sacrifice and as such blotted out our sins, thus effecting a reconciliation between us and God and also destroying death.

Numerous other texts might be cited, but we think that the aforesaid amply suffice to show the unanimous opinion of the Fathers with regard to the absoluteness of Christ's sacrificial death. Nowhere in their writings can we discern the slightest intimation of the actual occurrence or even the necessity of any anterior act that might have been liturgically and essentially associated with this one sacrificial act, so as to constitute it a full and complete sacrifice. On Calvary, therefore, according to patristic testimony, Christ's sacrifice was literally verified in its entirety. It was not the component part or stage of a sacrifice begun elsewhere and simply completed on the Cross; no, it was a transitory sacrificial act, absolute in itself and wholly independent of any previous act, no matter how sacrificial the character of such an act might have been.

¹⁵² *Eph.*, lib. III, V, 2.—P. L., XXVI, 519.

¹⁵³ *Ps.* XXXIX, 12.—P. L., XXXVI, 441; *De Civ. Dei*, X, 20.—P. L., XLII, 899; *Ibid.*, c. XIV, 19.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 901; *Ibid.*, lib., XIII, c. X, 14 and XI, 15.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 1025; *Ps.*, CXXIX, 3.—P. L., XXXVII, 1697, 1698; *In Ican.*, XII, 10, 11.—P. L., XXXV, 1489, 1490.

¹⁵⁴ *Sermo*, V, 3.—P. L., LIV, 154; *Serm.* LXVIII, 3.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 374; ¹*Serm.* LXX, 1.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 380; *Serm.* XXIII, 3.—P. L., 201; *Serm.* LIX, 5.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 340; *Serm.* LIV, 3.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 395, 360.

¹⁵⁵ *Cur Deus Homo*, lib. II, c. 20.—P. L., CLVIII, 428.

¹⁵⁶ *Moral.*, lib. III, c. XIV, 27.—P. L., LXXV, 613; *Ibid.*, lib. IV, c. XVI, 30, 31.—P. L., LXXV, 653; *Ibid.*, lib. IX, c. XXVII, 41.—P. L., *Ibid.*, 881.

CHAPTER III

THE ESSENCE OF THE SACRIFICE OF CALVARY

We have just examined the various scriptural and patristic testimonies, all of which bear incontestable witness to the sacrificia character of Christ's death on the Cross, namely, that it was, in the true and proper sense of the word, a sacrifice; nay the greatest sacrifice that has, or can ever be offered to Almighty God. We have, as it were, examined the question 'an sit verum sacrificium,' and have unhesitatingly concluded in the affirmative. But there is another problem which follows logically from the above conclusion since it is intimately linked with it. It is this: granted that Calvary is a true sacrifice, 'quomodo sit verum sacrificium,' that is: how is Christ's death on the Cross to be understood as a true sacrifice, or in other words, in how far does it contain all the constituents of a sacrifice taken in the strict sense?

Upon the altar of the Cross, Jesus Christ, the great Highpriest, as Representative of the whole human race, dedicated His life to the most painful of deaths, thus worthily to glorify and perfectly propitiate the Divine Majesty, as well as to regain for man, the favor and grace of God. He who was offered on the Cross, was Jesus Christ, the God-man, or more specifically, the Divine Logos in person. He was offered, not of course through the functions of His Divine, but through those of His Human Nature,¹ in which He was both priest and victim.² In His Divine Nature, He is one with the Father and the Holy Ghost. For this reason it follows logically that being in His Divine Nature One conjointly with the Father and the Holy Ghost, He must have also been the recipient of the sacrifice which in His Human Nature He offered to the Triune God.

In our investigation of the sacrificial action of the Mosaic sacrifices we discerned the coalescence of two essential constitu-

¹ The assertion that the human nature of our Lord alone was offered on Calvary would be equivalent to Nestorianism which was condemned in the Council of Ephesus, canon 10. *Vide* Denziger-Bannwart, n. 122; St. Cyril Alex., *Contra Nestorium*, lib. III, c. III.—P. G., LXXVI, 116-125. On the other hand, to maintain that it was the Godhead as such that was crucified and sacrificed, would savor of Theopaschitic Monophysitism. Cf. Bellarmine, *De Christo*, V, 2-3.

² "For there is one God: and one Mediator of God and Man, the *man* Christ Jesus."—I Tim., II, 5. "Nec ob hoc mediator est, quia verbum . . . sed mediator, per quod homo."—St. Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, 9, 19, 2.—P. L., XLI, 269. Cf. also St. Thom. *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 22, a. 2.

ents, namely, the *formal constituent* and the *material constituent*. The formal constituent was the will or intention of the offerer, while the material constituent was the outward expression of this will in some appropriate and divinely approved manner. This external feature of the sacrifice was realized in some sensible thing or offering, which by its very nature was a fit object for sacrifice. To this object something was further done in order to constitute it a true and proper sacrifice, or in other words, it was destroyed. Hence, as regards the external part, there was always a priest, a victim, and an accompanying sacrificial act expressive of the determining principle of the whole rite.

The offering of sacrifice, we have seen, pertained to the priest alone; so in the case of Christ's bloody sacrifice it must have been accomplished by Himself on Golgotha. For this reason it can not be validly maintained that the actual and material blood-shedding constituted the distinctive or formal constituent of His sacrifice. Moreover, this appears doubly certain when we recall that in Jewish sacrifices the act of slaying was frequently performed, not by the sacrificing priest, but by some assistant and inferior minister. But to the priest, under whose direct guidance the ceremonial was carried out, was accredited the purpose and action of the sacrifice offered in honor of God. This was likewise literally true in the case of Christ's sacrifice; the executioners wished indeed to kill Him, and in reality did so with unusual violence, but in so doing *they* did not sacrifice.³ What they did, was unconsciously to complete the external act of the sacrifice, the formal constituent of which lay solely in the internal act of Christ by which He offered Himself freely as a Victim to the eternal Father for the Redemption of mankind.⁴ "I lay it (my life) down of myself. And I have power to take it up again. This commandment I have received from My Father."⁵

But here it may be objected that this offering was not a sacrifice, but simply a martyrdom, in that, although Christ willingly submitted Himself to His Passion, He only did what martyrs have

³ "Non enim dicuntur occisores Christi hostiam Deo obtulisse, sed graviter deliquisse."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 22, a. 2 ad 2. "Passio Christi ex parte occidentium ipsum fuit maleficium; . . . unde hoc sacrificium ipse Christus obtulisse dicitur, non autem illi qui eum occiderunt."—St. Thom., *Ibid.*, q. 48, a. 3 ad 3.

⁴ "Christus non se occidit, sed seipsum voluntarie morti exposuit, . . . et ideo dicitur seipsum obtulisse."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 22, a. 2 ad 1.

⁵ John, X, 17, 18.

done, who have willingly laid down their lives for their faith. The sacrificial action, in so far as the slaying is concerned, was practically the same in both cases, but notwithstanding this, there is no parity between the martyrdom of saints and the Sacrifice of Christ. First of all, martyrs are not priests destined to offer themselves to God as sacrifices. In this respect they differed from Christ, Who, as a priest, was destined⁶ from all eternity to offer Himself as the sacrifice by which the world was to be redeemed. Secondly, martyrs not only lacked this distinctive sacerdotal character, but they are not even proper victims, as Christ was, since their bodies are not without sin, and hence are not actually designated by God for sacrifice. On the contrary, Christ's body was immaculate, having been "prepared"⁷ by God for sacrifice, as we read: "Him hath God, the Father, sealed,"⁸ where reference is made to the mark put upon the victim after it had been examined by the priest, and found to be without blemish and therefore fit for sacrifice. Then again, even though martyrs may be saints, they are not absolutely sinless and need salvation themselves, and for this added reason can not offer sacrifice for the eternal welfare of others.⁹

Christ, as we have pointed out, was slain by His persecutors. This was done since he could not have lawfully taken His own life; for if He had, then such an act being repugnant to the law of nature, would therefore have been nothing else than suicide itself. In this case one might further inquire whether or not His slayers could in any sense be termed His assistants in offering His sacrifice, when they were apparently not acting against His will. It is true that it was Christ's will to lay down His life for mankind; and from this it may be rightly inferred that the material agents of His death were, in a certain sense, not acting against His will, since they were not taking from Him something which He could not withhold. It can not be said, however, that He willed that they should put Him to death; He merely willed to give Himself up as a sacrifice, and in so doing did not withdraw Himself from the hands of His persecutors who willed to put Him to death,

⁶ Heb., X, 5-7.

⁷ Heb., X, 5.

⁸ St. John, VI, 27.

⁹ Cf. Franzelin, *De Verbo Incarnato*, thes. 50, Romae, 1881; Belser, *Das Evangelium des hl. Johannes*, pp. 511 ff., Freiburg, 1905.

although it was in His power to have done so if He had so desired.¹⁰ In other words, subjectively, He willed that He should die a sacrificial death; objectively, He permitted it.

From the description of Christ's sacrificial death we immediately see how the three essential features of sacrifice find their exact counterpart therein. Christ's sacrifice on Calvary, therefore, fulfilled all the necessary requisites prescribed in the typical sacrifices of the Mosaic Law. Thus: (1) the *sacrificial gift* was Christ Himself; (2) the *sacrificial action* which is invariably made up of two constituents, namely, one formal and the other material, took place in the voluntary offering of Himself to destruction. His will to die formed the formal constituent, while destruction, the carrying out of this will, formed the material constituent of the sacrifice. Lastly, the *legitimate sacrificing minister* was Christ Himself.

¹⁰ Cf. Eusebius of Caesarea, *De Theophania, fragm.*, 3.—P. G. CLXXXIX, 797; Hilary, *De Trinitate*, C. 23 ff.—P. L., X, 361; Leo the Great, *Serm.*, 54, c. 2.—P. L., LIV, 519; Arnobius the Younger, in *Psalm 27*.—P. L., IV, 360; St. Bonaventure, 3, d. 16, a. 1, q. 3; St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 47, a. 1.

SECTION III

THE LAST SUPPER

CHAPTER I

INSTITUTION OF THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE

ARTICLE I

STATEMENT OF THE CATHOLIC VIEW

Having already set before us the essential characteristics of sacrifice in general, and their fulfilment in the one and only absolute sacrifice, the Sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross, we are now in a position to begin the treatment of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

We have seen that all sacrifices prior to the coming of Christ had their fulfilment in the Sacrifice of the Cross and by means of it attained their ultimate end. When the Old Covenant gave way to the New, its sacrifices also ceased, because they had now become quite useless.¹ The Sacrifice of the Cross being a transient act, was accomplished but once, in one place, upon Golgotha, and at a stated time, namely, on that memorable and first Good Friday. But sacrifice was not to end there and then, for Christendom would have been without a perpetual sacrifice; this of course is inadmissible, since sacrifice is the very center of worship. Christianity, as we know, is founded on, and takes its very root in, the Sacrifice of the Cross, the source whence the New Law has emanated with its blessings and graces. As the New Law was instituted and sanctioned by sacrifice, it must of necessity be sustained and confirmed by a perpetual sacrifice; since the preservation of an object is equivalent to a perpetual creation, and is dependent on the same cause as that of its creation. Hence, it is not sufficient that the Christian religion and the Church should have as its foundation a transient sacrifice; it must possess a sacrifice, the object of which is to represent to all generations, the Sacrifice of the Cross, accomplished once and for all, and evermore to apply to them its graces. For this reason it was exceedingly becoming

¹ "Quoniam veritate superveniente cessat umbra, et figura prænuntians sortitur finem intentum, quo habito, cessare debet ejus usus et actus: hinc est, quod *gratia* superveniente, vetera sacramenta et signa *impleta sunt pariter et sublata*."—St. Bonav., *Brevil.*, p. 6, c. 2.

that Christ, the Author and Finisher of faith,² should bequeath to His Church, a permanent sacrifice of this nature. This sacrifice is that of the Eucharist, namely, the unbloody sacrifice of His very Body and Blood.³

In tracing the history of its institution, we must necessarily go back to the consideration of the nature of the Last Supper as determined principally, if not exclusively, in the biblical accounts contained in the following four parallel passages, namely: *Matthew XXVI, 26-29; Mark XIV, 22-24; Luke XXII, 19-20; I Cor. XI, 23-25*. With regard to the time of this event, the four gospels are unanimous in telling us that it was held on the day preceding the Crucifixion which was Friday,⁴ hence the Eucharistic Banquet took place on Thursday.⁵

It was on the evening of Maunday Thursday, therefore, that the prophecy of Malachy⁶ and the promise made at Carpharnaum were literally fulfilled. It was a solemn event celebrated on a solemn occasion, for it was the feast of the Passover, when in every Jewish household, the paschal lamb was sacrificed and eaten with mystic rite in memory of the deliverance of God's chosen people from the slavery of Egypt (Exod., XII, 3 ff.)⁷

² Heb., XII, 2.

³ "Without faith in the Passion there could never be any salvation. . . It was therefore necessary that there should be at all times something to show forth our Lord's Passion; the chief sacrament of which in the Old Law was the Paschal Lamb. Hence the Apostle says (I Cor. V, 7), *Christ our Pasch is sacrificed*. But its successor under the New Testament is the sacrament of the Eucharist, which is a remembrance of the Passion now past, just as the other was figurative of the Passion to come. And so it was fitting that when the hour of the Passion was come, Christ should institute a new sacrament after celebrating the old."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 73, a. 4.

⁴ *Mk.*, XV, 42; *Matth.*, XXVII, 62; *Lk.*, XXIII, 54; *Jh.*, XIX, 14; cf. also XIX, 31.

⁵ But whether this day was the 13th or 14th of *Nisan* is a question which has long been mooted. According to the Synoptics it seems positively to have been on the 14th (*Matth.*, XXVI, 17; *Mk.*, XIV, 12; *Luke*, XXII, 7), whereas the Evangelist, St. John, apparently favors the 13th (*Jn.*, XVIII, 2; XIX, 14). There have been various attempts to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this problem, but its nature is such that the limits of this paper will not warrant its full discussion. For us it will suffice to note that although the Gospel accounts are seemingly contradictory, nevertheless they may be reconciled, we think, in a very satisfactory manner by the theory of Chwolsen. According to this ingenious conception, if the 14th of *Nisan* fell on a Friday, then the slaying of the paschal lamb was anticipated a day, because such an act was forbidden on the Sabbath eve. This part of the ceremony would therefore take place on Thursday, the 13th of *Nisan*. But with regard to the paschal banquet, this was optional; it could be held either on the 13th or the 14th of *Nisan*. Such being the case, we can easily understand how the two views in the Gospel narratives originated. According to St. John, Christ, it would seem, celebrated the paschal banquet on the 13th, while the Jews, according to the Synoptics, celebrated it on the 14th of *Nisan*. Cf. Chwolsen, *Das letzte Passa-*

Christ reclined at table with His twelve Apostles in the room chosen under the remarkable circumstances narrated in the Gospel, and the paschal lamb was eaten with unleavened bread in the manner prescribed by the Law. The deliverance which the ceremony commemorated was a type of the deliverance of the human race which was about to be effected by Him Who sat at the head of the table. Its price was the sacrifice of His very life; and now all was ready for that supreme unbloody sacrifice in anticipation of the bloody sacrifice to be ultimately consummated on Calvary. He had of late warned His Apostles that the end was nigh, and two days before He had told them that He was about to be delivered to be crucified. All that remained to be done before He would actually meet His bloody death on the ignominious gibbet of the Cross, was the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which He had promised and which was destined to commemorate that sacrifice forever after. This, according to the unanimous teaching of the Church, took place at the Last Supper.

ARTICLE II

SUMMARY OF NON-CATHOLIC VIEWS

The Last Supper, we have just said, was the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice which was foretold and fulfilled by Christ Himself. This is strictly Catholic doctrine. Rationalism, however, with its customary aprioristic principles, does not hesitate to call its meaning into question, that is, whether or not Jesus at the Last Supper was conscious of making a new institution, and whether or not He commanded His disciples to repeat what they had seen Him do. It is a question, which, strictly speaking, regards the historicity of the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, since it is concerned not so much with what was instituted as whether or not it was instituted at all. Rückert, for instance,

mahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes, Leipzig, 1908; cf. also Lagrange, *Évangile selon S. Marc*, p. 349, Paris 1911; Schumacher, *Handbook of Scripture study*, III, p. 98 f., St. Louis, 1922. For further details of this question, vide: K. S. Goetz, *Die heutige Abendmalksfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, pp. 124-139, Leipzig, 1907; Fouard; sub *Cène* in the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Vigouroux), II, 411, Paris, 1899; M. O. Gibson, *Which was the night of the Passover*, in the *Expository Times*, XXII, p. 378, 1911; Monachus Benedictinus, *Did Christ eat the Pasch?* — *American Eccl. Review*, April, 1925, p. 72 ff.

⁶ Malach., I, 7 ff.

⁷ Cf. J. C. Boland, *Of Mass*, p. 6 ff., New York, 1923.

denied any such intention on the part of Christ.⁸ Jülicher,⁹ Spitta,¹⁰ and A. Schweitzer¹¹ adopted Jülicher's view, in support of which they appeal chiefly to the fact that the words: "Do this for a commemoration of Me," are wanting in Matthew and Mark. If Jesus had been conscious of making a new institution, argues Jülicher,¹² then these Evangelists could not have failed to record His command. To Spitta it seems impossible that Jesus could have thought of instituting a new rite just as He was about to leave His followers, since He did not even so much as leave them a code of government.¹³

Furthermore, according to Jülicher, the distribution by Christ of bread and wine among His disciples, was merely the symbolization of His approaching death. Afterwards, the early Christians repeated it in their Eucharistic Celebrations in His memory and as a grateful remembrance of His death which had been instrumental in obtaining their salvation.¹⁴

Spitta's method of procedure is somewhat different. He regards the words "This is My Body" as having a purely spiritual assimilation of Christ. According to him, the real significance of the Last Supper lies in the words of Matthew XXVI, 29 which clearly portray His eschatological preoccupation. When, therefore, Christ distributed bread and wine among His disciples, He did this in order to point out in anticipation, the joys of the Messianic banquet, that future reunion of His disciples with Himself around the heavenly table.¹⁵

This same eschatological interpretation of the Last Supper was propounded and further developed by A. Sweitzer. In his opinion, however, the essence of the entire celebration did not consist exclusively in the last announcement of His approaching death. "Jesus," he says, "spoke to His disciples not merely of His death, but of His death and their early reunion with Him at the feast in the new kingdom."¹⁶ "The bread and wine which He

⁸ Rückert, *Das Abendmahl.—Sein Wesen und seine Geschichte in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1856.

⁹ Jülicher, *Zur Geschichte der Abendmahlsfeier in der ältesten Kirche* (*Theolog. Abhandlungen, K. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*), pp. 215-250, Freiburg, 1892.

¹⁰ J. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, Göttingen, 1893.

¹¹ A. Sweitzer, *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit den Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums*, Tübingen, 1901.

¹² Jülicher, *o. c.*, p. 238.

¹³ Spitta, *o. c.*, p. 237 ff.

¹⁴ Jülicher, *o. c.*, p. 239 ff.

¹⁵ Spitta, *o. c.*, p. 282.

¹⁶ Sweitzer, *o. c.*, I, p. 61.

gives in anticipation (of the heavenly feast) are for Him His body and blood, because He prepares the Messianic meal by surrendering Himself to death."¹⁷ Moreover, he maintains that the meaning of the words "This is My Body, this is My Blood" was not understood by the disciples, nor was a subsequent repetition of this celebration commanded. Furthermore, he is of the opinion that the miraculous feeding of the five thousand was, after the manner of the Last Supper, a strictly religious feast, the meaning of which was clear to Christ alone "as the one who knows Himself to be the Messiah and wills now on the immediate approach of the dawn of His reign, to be revealed to them as such, and solemnly distributes food to those by whom He expects to be surrounded at the Messianic feast, just as if He wished thereby to give them a right to participate in that future celebration."¹⁸

Adolph Harnack¹⁹ also denies that the Church was originally conscious of a strict objective sacrifice in the Eucharist. In a general sense, obedience and the consecration of body and soul to God in religious service were regarded as sacrifices; in a more special sense, prayers and gifts from which were taken the Eucharistic Elements and the materials for the Agape, and alms for the poor; all these, taken collectively were regarded as forming a sacrifice. It was not a sacrifice in the strict sense, but merely the spiritualized Semitic idea of sacrifice. This idea of sacrifice gradually evolved in the early community till under St. Cyprian it came to be regarded as an exact imitation of the Last Supper.

Akin to the non-Catholic view is that of Dr. Wieland set forth in his book entitled "Mensa und Confessio."²⁰ In general, his opinion was not accepted by Catholic students of the question.²¹

¹⁷ *O. c.*, II, p. 107 ff.

¹⁸ *O. c.*, *Ibid.*, p. 56 ff.

¹⁹ Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, I, Freiburg u. Leipzig, 1894.

²⁰ Wieland, *Mensa und Confessio*.—*Studien über der altchristlichen Liturgie*, I. *Der Altar der Vorkonstantinischen Kirche* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar, München, II Reihe, n. II), München, 1906. This was placed on the index; (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 1911, II), as were his later works: *Die Schrift Mensa et Confessio* und P. E. Dorsch, S. J., in Innsbruck, München, 1908; *Der vorirenäische Opferbegriff* (Veröffentlichungen aus dem Kirchenhistorischen Seminar, III, n. 6), München, 1909.

²¹ He was vehemently opposed by E. Dorsch, S.J., first, in an article entitled *Altar und Confessio*, in the Innsbruck *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, pp. 307–352, Mainz, 1908; then, in his work *Der Opfercharakter der Eucharistie einst und jetzt*, Innsbruck, 1909; and finally in a last article *Aphorismen und Erwägungen zur Beleuchtung des vorirenäischen Opferbegriffes*, in the *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.*, 1910, pp. 71–117, when he declared that as far as he was concerned the controversy was closed. For further particulars concerning this celebrated controversy, *vide*,

According to him, the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Church was unacquainted with an objective sacrifice; for he maintains that the Eucharistic Sacrifice was identified with the Eucharistic prayer which changed the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, with the object of partaking of it. At that time, he says, Christians were not conscious of any objective offering of visible gifts.

Such theories as the above have absolutely no foundation whatsoever in Holy Writ, and can only be supported by mutilating the text and by arbitrarily interpreting the narrative of the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. They contradict one another on fundamental points, and claim for their respective views only a lesser or greater degree of probability, and therefore on our part, do not even have to be refuted, for in reality they refute themselves.²² They all start out with the preconceived idea that the doctrine of the Church is utterly different from that which Christ intended and foresaw. Some, like Spitta, even deny that Jesus at the Last Supper foresaw and predicted His subsequent and violent death.²³ Others, again, either omit entirely to speak of the sacrificial character of the Last Supper, or if they do, they deny it altogether, or perchance accuse the Fathers or ecclesiastical writers of having changed its primordial notion or signification.²⁴ But to all this we simply say that although it can not be clearly deter-

Theologische Revue, p. 624 ff., Münster, 1907; *Ibid.* p. 59, 1908; A. Schmid, in *Der Katholik*, XXXIV, p. 235 ff., Mainz, 1906; Wieland, *Ibid.*, p. 399; Huppertz, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, 434 ff., 1908; *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 126 ff. and p. 188 ff., 1909; Rauschen, *Ibid.*, XXXIX, p. 74 ff. and p. 150 ff., 1909; Wieland, *Ibid.*, XXXVII, p. 463, 1908; D'Alès, in *Les Études*, CXX, p. 408 ff., Paris, 1909. Cf. also Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Bussakrament in den ersten sechs Jahrhunderten der Kirche*, p. 72 ff., Freiburg, 1910.

²² The untenableness of such views is even acknowledged by rationalists themselves. Thus for instance, Weizsäcker writes: "The celebration of the Lord's Supper rests on the assumption made by Jesus Himself. Every assumption of a growth of the same in the Christian community, due to the wish to have a memorial of the meal taken with Him, and the need of a remembrance of His death, must be utterly rejected."—*The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*, p. 94, 1894.

²³ Berning successfully refutes these theories in his *Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, nach den Berichten des Neuen Testaments kritisch untersucht*, Münster, 1901, Cf. also W. Koch, *Die neutestamentlichen Abendmahlsberichte und die neueste Abendmahlsforschung*, in *Theol. Quartalschr.*, pp. 230–257, Tübingen, 1905.

²⁴ Cf. Réville, *Les Origines de L'Eucharistie*, p. 116 ff. and *passim*, Paris, 1908; M. Goguel, *L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr*, p. 89 ff. and p. 226, Paris, 1910. A few others, however, admit that the text contains the narration of a sacrifice, though only an improper one. Cf. Goetz, *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 185 ff. Leipzig, 1907; Keating, *The Agape and the Eucharist in the early Church*, p. 161, London, 1901.

mined how the nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was conceived in the first century, still we do know from authentic scriptural sources, such as the comparison of the table of the Lord with the table of demons in I Cor., X, 20, and the expression 'altar of sacrifice' (Θυσιαστήριον) in the Epistle to the Hebrews, XIII, 10, that the Eucharist in the primitive Church must have borne the character of a real sacrifice.²⁵ Moreover, an impartial and unbiased study of the Apologists shows, indeed, that the Apostolic Church paid attention to the spiritual side of sacrifice and laid particular stress on prayer and thanksgiving in the Eucharistic Function. But this does not necessarily mean that the early Church intentionally rejected the objective sacrifice, acknowledging as genuine only the spiritual sacrifice as expressed in the 'eucharistic thanksgiving.' The Apostolic Fathers spoke in precisely the same manner as the Apologists, calling the prayer and thanksgiving accompanying the celebration of the Eucharist, the celebration of the Christians. The only difference is that the Apologists employed this expression by preference against their Jewish opponents, whereas later on it naturally became less frequent. But from the very beginning, the Eucharist was regarded as a sacrifice, and, in accordance with the words of St. Paul, as the memorial sacrifice of the Cross.

In its essential features the concept of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist did not change, save in the terms chosen to designate it in different periods. No one familiar with the subject will deny that there was a historical dogmatic development from the indefinite to the definite, from the implicit to the explicit, from the seed to the fruit. This is indeed reasonable and consistent with Christianity, but it is fundamentally different from the hypothesis that the Christian idea of sacrifice veered from one extreme to the other. It is, *a priori*, improbable; moreover, it is unproved in fact.

²⁵ "There can be no question," writes Gore, "that from the earliest days the Christian church thought of the Eucharist as a sacrifice."—*The Body of Christ*, p. 157, London, 1909.

CHAPTER II

SACRIFICIAL CHARACTER OF LAST SUPPER

ARTICLE I

SCRIPTURE

That Rationalism should gainsay the historicity of the Last Supper and its complete sacrificial character is not at all surprising. There is, however, another fact which arrests our attention; it is the logical outcome of Bishop MacDonald's and Fr. De la Taille's unique concept of the rôle the Last Supper is supposed to have played in the numerically one sacrifice of Christ. We have previously seen that one of the inevitable conclusions of such a theory was that Christ's death on the Cross, if unrelated to the Last Supper, would not have been the visible, redemptive sacrifice that it was. But this assumption was pointed out to be entirely gratuitous, being unwarrantable either by *Scripture* or *Tradition*. Another difficulty involved in the theory lies in the fact that it holds the Supper to have been merely a *component part* of Christ's one sacrifice. Were this really so, then it would logically follow that the Last Supper too, was not, of and by itself, a true and complete sacrifice, and hence not the first Mass as we generally understand it to have been. Bishop MacDonald is logical in his conclusion, for he admittedly acknowledges that this is a necessary consequence of the theory which he advocates.¹ Fr. De la Taille, however, sees that such a conclusion is a direct break with tradition which has always regarded the Last Supper as a sacrifice,² and perhaps for this reason, hesitates to compromise his position with an express declaration in his book, that the Supper was not the first Mass.³ He is satisfied with an evasion of the issue

¹ "The Supper by itself is not a complete sacrifice."—Bishop MacDonald, *o.c.*, p. 341 and *passim*. "The Last Supper is commonly regarded as the first Mass. But the first Mass was not celebrated till after Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord into Heaven."—*Ibid.*, p. 122.

² "Secundum fidem catholicam Christus in coena obtulit verum sacrificium."—Fr. De la Taille, *M. F.*, p. 82.

³ "Where did I ever say that 'there was no Mass at the Last Supper?' In my book, I do not touch even the question whether it is correct or not to speak of a 'Mass' as celebrated by Christ in the Supper-Room. This is so certain a fact, that it has been implicitly recognized in *Blackfriars* (January, 1925), with a view apparently to make me disclose my mind on the subject. The next issue of *Blackfriars* contained these words of mine: "If by the Mass is meant the bloodless oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ under the species of bread and wine by the Priests of the Church in memory of Christ's death till He come ('Ab Ecclesia per

by declaring that the Last Supper is not a different sacrifice from that of Calvary, but one and the same with it,⁴ having been begun in the former and ultimately completed in the latter. But even such an explicit declaration on his part does not remove the implicit consequences which necessarily result from the theory which he recently revived.⁵

According to the theory, the Last Supper and Calvary are component parts of one sacrifice, and yet the first is numerically identical with the second. But just how such a conclusion can be reconciled with the fundamental principles of logic can not be easily understood. Sound logical principles postulate the conclusion that, in the given case, neither the Supper nor Calvary was an *individually complete sacrifice*, for it is utterly illogical even to think of one of two essential constitutive parts of a composite as being numerically identical with the whole composite. If the two together form a whole, then this whole must necessarily be greater than either of its parts, and for this reason they can not be spoken of as one and the same as each other. Granted, therefore (*sed non concessio*), that the Supper is a component part of Christ's one sacrifice inasmuch as it supplies the oblation-element of the sacrifice, then it follows as a natural consequence that it could not have been a complete sacrifice of, and by itself, for according to the theory, besides the *real* and *actual oblation*, there is also exacted for any true sacrifice, a *real immolation* which is a

sacerdotes sub signis visibilibus immolandum in memoriam transitus sui ex hoc mundo ad Patrem,' *Conc. Trid., sess. 22, cap. I*), which is the generally accepted sense, then there was in that sense no Mass celebrated in the Cenacle; although there Christ certainly did offer *virtually* all our Masses; which are now offered by us in virtue of that one offering of His, to which He *actually* conjoins and subjoins our own offerings, as particular agencies to a universal cause. But if you choose to mean by the Mass any bloodless oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ under the species of bread and wine; whether performed by the Priests of the Church in union with Christ, or by Christ alone; whether intended to commemorate Christ's death, or to dedicate Christ to His death; whether having no further continuation in view, or having still to be carried on and pursued unto death; then in that indeterminate sense, which is not the current one, you will have to say that there was a Mass said in the Cenacle." This has been my only utterance so far on the subject."—Fr. De la Taille in *The Dublin Review*, Jan., Feb., Mar., 1926, pp. 75, 76.

⁴ Cf. *M. F.*, pp. 75, 82, 83, 195, 196 and *passim*; also *Eluc.* IX, and *Reply*, pp. 6-13.

⁵ Fr. McNabb was the first to call attention to the inconsistency involved in the above theory. Cf. *Blackfriars*, Sept., 1923, p. 1092 ff. That the theory was illogical in its conclusions was again decisively shown by Fr. Ryan in the *Irish Eccl. Record*, May, 1925, p. 459. For Fr. De la Taille's attempted refutation of these learned critics' arguments, *vide Reply*, p. 12 n. 14 and also *Irish Eccl. Record*, Aug., 1925, p. 125 ff.

vital component of the sacrifice itself. At the Supper, Christ made the real, liturgical oblation; the only form of immolation being a sacramental, symbolical or representative one, which according to the author is insufficient to constitute a sacrifice. The self-evident conclusion resulting from this theory is, and must be, despite explicit declarations to the contrary, that the Last Supper was not, in itself, a complete and distinct sacrifice, and hence not the first Mass.⁶

It is quite clear that such a theory, apart from its apparent incoherence, must be regarded as absolutely unacceptable if Christ can be said to have been the victim of a sacrifice offered by Himself at the Last Supper. And indeed this is exactly the case, for such a doctrinal tenet has always been presented as an indubitable fact, not only by the whole Christian liturgy, but it is likewise found consonant with the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, the Theologians and the general belief of all the faithful, so that when priests offer the sacrifice of the Mass, it is deemed an exact repetition in every essential detail, of what Christ Himself did at the Last Supper no more and no less, and not merely the repetition or continuation of a sacrifice inaugurated by the Apostles after the Ascension.

To prove that such is actually the case, we shall trace its origin in the four scriptural accounts, which, as we have already remarked, present a rather uniform picture of the Last Supper. In three of them, the presentation of the Eucharistic Bread and Wine is described in connection with Christ's celebration of the Pasch. This detail is wanting in the Pauline account, but its omission may be easily explained by the fact that St. Paul does not give the whole story of the Last Supper, but confines himself to the eucharistic part and the institution of a new testament. Though the accounts contain a slight diversity of terminology, still we find the same fundamental ideas running through each of them, even if they are considered from different points of view and are differently combined. The meaning underlying them all is fundament-

⁶ This same conclusion is drawn by Fr. De la Taille when he writes: "The Supper was not a sacrifice completed on the spot, because it was an offering in view of something not yet fulfilled. . . Therefore it was only an oblation of the Victim to be slain. Pending the slaying, the Victim was not yet in the full state and condition as a victim. Consequently, the sacrifice was not fulfilled, was not completed, till something more had happened. . . To conclude, there is nothing derogatory to the Last Supper in the fact that it was not in itself alone a complete sacrifice, no more than it is derogatory to the Mass that it should be called a complete sacrifice only owing to the Cross—and the Supper."—*Reply*, pp. 9, 15, 16.

ally the same, namely, as to what Christ meant when He used those or similar expressions. For the sake of convenience we shall print first the Greek⁷ of the four accounts in parallel columns, and then the text of the Latin Vulgate and the Douay version of the same. (See pages 78 and 79.) From their analysis we shall prove that they clearly and convincingly express the institution of a true sacrifice which was enacted then and there for the first time, that is, at the Last Supper.

At first sight it is clear that these narratives naturally form two distinct groups; on the one side those of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and on the other those of St. Luke and St. Paul. Upon further careful reading we also notice how closely Luke 19b–20 resembles St. Paul's parallel passage, both in words and ideas. This peculiar similarity between the texts together with their omission in the Greek Codex Bezae and a few recensions of the Old Latin version⁸ might afford exegetes occasion to doubt their authenticity and to consider them as a later gloss.⁹ These circumstances, however, do not in any way justify such a conclusion when we investigate and see that these disputed texts are preserved in all existing Greek codices with the exception of Codex D, which after all, is manifestly modelled on the Latin version.¹⁰ This practical unanimity of the Greek mss. has been considered by some of the best textual critics a sufficient proof of the authen-

⁷ In transcribing the Greek text we will adopt Tischendorf's eighth critical edition, with which Nestle and Gebhardt are in perfect accord. The text of Westcott-Hort differs with regard to St. Matth. v. 27, by including the particle *καὶ* with the uncials, while that of H. Von Soden in v. 26, reads *τὸν ἄρτον* with the particle, and in v. 28 places *τὸ αἶμα μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης*. Besides these, there are other variant readings of these passages, but since they are not of any great import, it will not be necessary to make note of them here. Cf. C. Tischendorf, *NT. graece*, I–II, Leipzig, 1869–1872; E. Nestle, *NT. graece et latine*, Stuttgart, 1910; O. De Gebhardt, *NT. graece*, Leipzig, 1901; Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the original Greek*, I, London and Cambridge, 1898; H. Von Soden, *Die Schriften des NT. in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt*, II, Berlin, 1913.

⁸ Codex Bezae (D), a bilingual text, and the Latin versions *a. ff.*, *i* and *l*. They are also omitted in the Cureton Syriac version, which in their place gives verses 17 and 18, an arrangement which is also found in two *mss.* of the Itala version, namely, in *b* and *e*. In the Syro-Sinaiticus version we find the verses in the following order: 15, 16, 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18; while in the Syrian Peschitto we read 15, 16, 19, 20 without any mention of the first chalice.

⁹ Westcott and Hort put the passage in brackets; cf. *o.c.*, pp. 63 and 64. Some of the others who doubt its authenticity and consider it an interpolation of I Cor., XI, 24–25 are: Loisy, *L'évangile et l'Église*, pp. 115, 116, Paris, 1903; J. A. Robinson in Cheyne's *Encyclopaedia Biblica* sub art. *Eucharist*, II, col. 1418, 1419.

¹⁰ Cf. E. Jacquier, *Le Nouveau Testament dans L'Église Chrétienne*, II, p. 89 ff. Paris, 1913.

MATTHEW XXVI

26 Ἐσθιόντων δὲ

αὐτῶν
λαβὼν
ὁ Ἰησοῦς
ἄρτον
καὶ εὐλογῆσας

ἔκλασεν
καὶ δούς
τοῖς μαθηταῖς
εἶπεν·
λάβετε
φάγετε·
τοῦτό ἐστιν
τὸ σῶμά μου

27 Καὶ λαβὼν
ποτήριον

καὶ εὐχαρισ-
τήσας
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς

λέγων·
πίετε
ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες·

28 τοῦτο γάρ
ἐστιν
τὸ αἷμά μου

τῆς διαθήκας

τὸ περὶ πολλῶν
ἐκχυννόμενον
εἰς ἄφεσιν
ἁμαρτιῶν.

MARK XIV

22 Καὶ ἐσθιόν-
των

αὐτῶν
λαβὼν

ἄρτον
εὐλογῆσας

ἔκλασεν
καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς
καὶ εἶπεν·
λάβετε·

τοῦτό ἐστιν
τὸ σῶμά μου.

25 Καὶ λαβὼν
ποτήριον

εὐχαριστήσας

ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς,
καὶ ἔπιον
ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

24 Καὶ εἶπεν
αὐτοῖς·

τοῦτό
ἐστιν
τὸ αἷμά μου

τῆς διαθήκας

τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον
ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.

LUKE XXII

19 Καὶ λαβὼν

ἄρτον
εὐχαριστήσας

ἔκλασεν
καὶ ἔδωκεν
αὐτοῖς
λέγων·

τοῦτό ἐστιν
τὸ σῶμά μου
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
διδόμενον·
τοῦτο ποιεῖτε
εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν
ἀνάμνησιν.

20 Καὶ
τὸ ποτήριον
ὡσαύτως
μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι

λέγων·

τοῦτο

τὸ ποτήριον
ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη

ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου,
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
ἐκχυννόμενον.

I COR. XI

23 Ἐλαβεν

ἄρτον
24 καὶ εὐχαρισ-
τήσας
ἔκλασεν

καὶ εἶπεν·

τοῦτό μου
ἐστίν· τὸ σῶμα
τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν·

τοῦτο ποιεῖτε
εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν
ἀνάμνησιν.

25 Ὡσαύτως
καὶ τὸ ποτήριον
μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι

λέγων·

τοῦτο

τὸ ποτήριον
ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη
ἐστίν

ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι.

MATTHEW XXVI, 26. "Coenantibus autem eis praecepit Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait: Accipite, et comedite: hoc est corpus meum.

27. "Et accipiens calicem gratias egit: et dedit illis, dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes.

28. "Hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum."

MARK XIV, 22. "Et manducantibus illis, accepit Jesus panem: et benedicens fregit et dedit eis, et ait: Sumite, hoc est corpus meum.

23. "Et accepto calice, gratias agens dedit eis: et biberunt ex illo omnes.

24. "Et ait illis: Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur."

LUKE XXII, 19. "Et accepto pane gratias egit, et fregit, et dedit eis, dicens: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.

20. "Similiter et calicem postquam coenavit, dicens: Hic est calix novum testamentum in sanguine meo, qui pro vobis fundetur."

I COR. XI, 23b. "accepit panem,

24. "et gratias agens fregit et dixit: Accipite et manducate: hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur:

25. "Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens: Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine."

26. "And whilst they were at Supper, Jesus took bread and blessed and broke and gave it to His disciples and said: Take ye and eat. This is my body.

27. "And taking the chalice, He gave thanks and gave to them, saying: Drink ye all of this.

28. "For this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins."

22. "And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread; and blessing, broke and gave it to them and said: Take ye. This is my body.

23. "And having taken the chalice, giving thanks, He gave it to them. And they all drank of it.

24. "And he said to them: This is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many."

19. "And taking bread, He gave thanks and broke and gave to them saying: This is my body, which is given for you. Do this for a commemoration of me.

20. "In like manner, the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you."

23b. "He took bread,

24. "And giving thanks, broke and said: Take ye and eat: This is my body, which shall be delivered for you. This do for the commemoration of me.

25. "In like manner also the chalice after He had supped, saying: This chalice is the new testament in my blood. This do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of me."

ticity of the reading.¹¹ At any rate we may take it for certain that the clause is authentic; for to deprive St. Luke of it, we would have to show preference to a small group of codices against the testimony of all the others, a mode of procedure which, instead of being critical, would be purely fanciful.

Rightly assuming that the four accounts of the hagiographers are authentic, we see that the institution of the Eucharistic Sacrifice took place as follows: "And whilst they were at Supper" (missing in Luke), "Jesus took bread and blessed" (the *εὐλογήσας* in Matthew and Mark, and *εὐχαριστήσας* in Luke; that is, having returned thanks) "and broke and gave to His disciples and said: Take ye and eat; this is My Body." "In like manner after He had supped" (Luke), "taking the chalice, He gave thanks and gave to them saying: This is My Blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed unto the remission of sins."

In the consecration of the chalice, St. Luke mentions that it took place after the supper to distinguish the sacramental from the legal cup, of which Christ said He would drink no more. St. Paul mentions the same particular, and he and Luke record the words "which is given for you" or "which is broken for you" (as the Greek has it), or according to the Westminster Version "which is being given on your behalf," or lastly in the words of the Douay version "which shall be delivered for you," after the words: "This is My Body." Both, moreover, concur in subjoining a clause commanding the repetition of that rite: "Do this for a commemoration of Me."¹²

At the Last Supper, therefore, Christ offered Himself in sacrifice (that is, really enacted a sacrifice) to His Eternal Father under

¹¹ This is admitted even by such scholars as Plummer, who though doubtful of the authenticity of the text, still, does not reject it owing to "the overwhelming external evidence of almost all MSS. and Versions,"—*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke*, p. 496, New York, 1907; cf. also his article *Lord's Supper* in *Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible*, III, p. 146. For other non-Catholic authors cf., moreover, Goguel, *L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin martyr*, p. 105 ff., Paris, 1910; J. Réville, *Les Origines de l'Eucharistie*, p. 98 ff., Paris, 1908; R. A. Hoffmann, *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, p. 9 ff., Königsberg, 1896; Among Catholic textual critics of this passage we may mention: W. Berning, *Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form nach den Berichten des NT kritisch untersucht*, p. 25 ff., Münster, 1901; P. Batiffol, *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive.—Deuxième série.—L'Eucharistie, la présence réelle et la transsubstantiation*, p. 22 ff., Paris, 1905; Ruch in an article *Eucharistie d'après la Sainte Écriture*, in the *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* (Vacant), V, 1062 ff., Paris, 1912; Lebreton, sub art. *Eucharistie*, in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Cath.* (D'Alès), I, 1553 ff., Paris, 1910.

¹² Concerning this text, *vide* Franzelin, *De Eucharistia*, p. 2, thes. II.

the appearances of bread and wine, commanding, at the same time that this unbloody oblation should be repeated forevermore by His Apostles and their successors in the priestly dignity.¹³ This fact necessarily implies that He truly and properly offered sacrifice, although the fact itself may not be quite evident from a cursory reading of the sacred text. To realize the full force of Christ's words, it is absolutely necessary to have an accurate and thorough knowledge of their significance, and furthermore to place ourselves in the position of the Apostles to whom they were originally addressed. Now if these words are essentially sacrificial in character, as most writers readily admit,¹⁴ and were spoken to men thoroughly versed in the sacrificial system of the Old Law on the occasion of the most solemn and important Jewish sacrifices, it would indeed have been misleading had not Christ used them to teach His disciples that a new and solemn sacrifice was being offered for the first time, which was to be the unending sacrifice in the economy of the New Law.

"This is My Body," said Christ, "*which is given for you*"; or as St. Paul relates in Greek, "*which is broken for you*" (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον). "This is the chalice of the New Testament in My Blood, *which shall be shed*," or according to the original Greek, "*which is shed for you*" (τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον); to which St. Matthew adds: "for the remission of sins" (εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν). Now, as we have just insinuated, these words, *given*, *broken* and *shed*,¹⁵ are generally accepted as truly technical sacrificial terms. Such being the case, they can only signify that the Body and Blood of Christ were vicariously given and poured out in sacrifice, not that they were given and poured out as food and drink.¹⁶ They were given for the Apostles, and not merely for them, but for others as well, "for many unto the remission of sins."

¹³ "Si quis dixerit, illis verbis: "*Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*," Christum non instituisse Apostolos sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi alique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum; A. S." Conc. Trid., Sess. XXII, can. 2; cf. Denz. Bannwart, o. c., n. 949.

¹⁴ Thus for instance, Hammond says: "The expressions, *a Body given and Blood shed* for, or on behalf of, convey irresistibly the notion of a sacrifice, and that a propitiatory one."—*Notes on the sacrificial aspect of the Holy Eucharist*, p. 18, Oxford, 1913.

¹⁵ Cf. Franzelin, o. c., thes. XI, p. 362; Bellarmine, *De Missa*, I, c. 12; Hurter, *Theologiae dogmaticae compendium*, III, p. 400, Oeniponte, 1908.

¹⁶ By a natural association of ideas, *effusion of blood* and *sacrifice* were used by the sacred writers as interchangeable and promiscuous terms; cf. Lev., XIV, 17; XVII, 11; Rom., III, 25; V, 9; Eph., I, 7; Col., I, 14, 20; I Pet., I, 2, 19; I Jn., I, 7; Acts, XX, 28.

Hence the sense of Christ's words is: 'This is My Blood, which for you and for many is given and poured out to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of sins.'¹⁷

Now the question naturally arises, do the aforesaid expressions directly convey the idea of a sacrifice that is being offered *hic et nunc*, or do they perhaps, have reference to the bloody sacrifice which is to take place on the Cross? The Vulgate puts the verb *shed* in the future tense, so that the meaning of Christ's words would seem to be: 'This is My Body, which is about to be given to death; and this is My Blood, which is about to be shed on the Cross of Calvary.' But that this most probably is not the sense intended appears evident from an examination of the original Greek participles, all of which are in the present tense, although the Vulgate translates three of them in the future (*ἐκχυννόμενον*; effundetur, Matth., XXVI, 28; Mk., XIV, 34; fundetur, Luke XXII, 20) and only one of them in the present tense (*διδόμενον*, datur, Luke, XXII, 19). The question, therefore, being purely a grammatical one, must necessarily be solved from grammar itself.

It is a generally accepted rule of New Testament Greek that when the finite verb and the participle are in the present tense, exactly as exemplified in the present instance, the time denoted is strictly the present, and not distant or near future.¹⁸ Hence, even if the Vulgate does employ the future tense, it is used, in all probability, to signify that the sacrifice of the Last Supper is merely a relative sacrifice, that is, a sacrifice which is based upon, and intrinsically related to that of the Cross.¹⁹ This meaning,

¹⁷ Cf. J. Hehn, *Die Einsetzung des hl. Abendmahls als Beweis für die Gottheit Christi*, p. 69 ff., Würzburg, 1900.

¹⁸ Cf. Moulton, *A Grammar of the New Testament Greek*, I, p. 126, Edinburgh. This rule even holds good in classical Greek; cf. Kaegi-Attinger, *Grammaire abrégée de la langue grecque*, p. 130, Paris, 1907. A. Buttmann, however, in his *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauches*, ¶144, 10, Berlin, 1895, holds that there are many passages in Holy Writ wherein the Greek present participle has a future meaning, even when it is joined to the principal verb which is in the present; cf. Rauschen, *Eucharist and Penance*, p. 84, n. 33, St. Louis, 1913. Commenting on *ἐκχυννόμενον* Knabenbauer writes: "Tempus itaque praesens exprimitur; neque, enim participium praesens graecum pro futuro adhiberi solet (vide Winer ¶45; Buttmann p. 255; Blass p. 193). Significatur igitur effusio, quae fit, ad sanguinem proinde in calice contentum haec effusio refertur, id quod etiam clarius elucet ex verbis Lc. 22, 20 τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον . . . τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον ubi ipse calix, i.e., sanguis in eo contentus, dicitur effundi." *Comment. in Matth.* II, p. 442, Paris, 1892. Cf. also Pohle-Preuss, *The Sacraments*, II, p. 308, St. Louis, 1916.

¹⁹ "Ce sang est répandu au présent, représentant le futur, quant à la réalité des faits . . . cette effusion est envisagée comme un sacrifice et c'est en qualité de sang

moreover, is borne out by the reading of not a few other ancient codices which more correctly employ the present tense, *effunditur*.²⁰

Furthermore, there are certain circumstances under which the Eucharist was celebrated and instituted by Christ that serve to develop even more its sacrificial character, and therefore, the further to corroborate the proofs already drawn from the words of its institution. Thus, for instance, our Divine Saviour named His Blood, contained in the chalice, the Blood of the New Testament (Matth., XXVI, 28).²¹ The word testament here has a twofold meaning; namely, covenant, and legacy.²² Christ is the Mediator of a better covenant, which is established on better promises (Heb., VIII, 6). This covenant of grace was formed mainly at the Last Supper and at the same time was sealed with Christ's Eucharistic Blood; and by the actual shedding of Blood on the Cross, it obtained its valid and complete confirmation.²³ Therefore, Christ's Blood was equally as well at the Last Supper as on the Cross, the Blood of the covenant, that is, the blood in which the new covenant of grace was established. For this reason, the Blood of Christ must not only have first been sacrificed on the Cross, but previously offered as truly sacrificial blood. This is required by the contrast which is here evidently made between the establishment of the old and the new covenants; for the words of our Saviour: "This is My Blood, the Blood of the New Covenant," contain a distinct allusion to the words: "This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you,"²⁴ the words spoken by Moses after the establishment of the covenant of the

versé que le sang de Jesus figure dans la coupe."—Lagrange, *Evang. selon Saint Marc*, p. 355, Paris, 1911.—"Au reste, cette discussion a peu de conséquence: l'une et l'autre interprétation sauvegarde de le caractère sacrificiel de l'Eucharistie et sa relation essentielle à la mort du Christ, mais elle met l'accent soit sur l'un, soit sur l'autre de ces deux éléments."—J. Lebreton, sub art. *Eucharistie*, in the *Diction. Apol.*, I, 1564.

²⁰ Knabenbauer, *loc. cit.*

²¹ Testamentary blood is the same as sacrificial blood; cf. Maldonatus, *Comment. in Matth.*, XXVI, 28; cf. also: K. G. Goetz, *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 148, Leipzig, 1907; Hammond, *o.c.*, p. 18 ff; Goguel, *o.c.*, p. 192.

²² "L'ancienne Loi était une *διαθήκη* au sens d'alliance (*berith*) mais pas au sens de testament: la nouvelle est à la fois l'une et l'autre. Or, dès que le testateur est mort, le testament est irrévocable."—Prat, *La Théologie de S. Paul*, I, p. 458, Paris, 1924; cf. also St. Thom. *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 78, a. 3, ad 3.

²³ "Sine dubio in ultima coena praecipue condidit (Christus) testamentum quod suo etiam sanguine tunc incruente immolato sancivit; postea vero in sacrificio cruento omino stabilivit ac confirmavit."—Suarez, *In III. S. Thom.*, disp. 37, sect. 4, n. 15.

²⁴ Exod., XXIV, 8.

Old Law, when he sprinkled the people with blood. At the foot of Mount Sinai, God formed a solemn covenant with the chosen people of Israel. The Lord gave His laws and promises; the people promised obedience to the instructions and regulations contained in the book of the covenant, and then they were sprinkled with "the blood of the covenant." The blood of the Old Law was sacrificial blood; for it was consecrated by the offering of holocausts. The covenant into which God, through Moses, entered with the Israelites, was only a figure of the new and better covenant which God, through Jesus Christ, formed with mankind. But in order to be the counterpart and completion of the old covenant, the New Law had likewise to be established by a sacrifice and to be sealed with sacrificial blood. Hence it follows that the Eucharistic Blood, which was sacrificed at the Last Supper for the sealing of the new covenant, was the sacrificial blood of Jesus Christ shed for the glory of God. This celebration of the Eucharist established by our Lord was, consequently, a true and real sacrifice. The better covenant, whose author and surety²⁵ Jesus Christ became, is not merely an alliance between God and the regenerated, but, moreover, a legacy wherein was bequeathed to us Christ's sacrificial Body and sacrificial Blood, the Eucharistic Sacrifice together with all the goods and graces of redemption included therein.

From the above description of the Last Supper, the following perfectly valid conclusions may be drawn:

1. That the Last Supper was a true and complete sacrifice in itself although intrinsically related to the sacrifice of the Cross;
2. That it was the prospective unbloody representation of Christ's future bloody sacrifice on Calvary;
3. That it was the prototype of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and hence in the order of time, the first enactment of the Mass;
4. That it was meant to be a permanent institution in the Church.

ARTICLE II

TRADITION

The Last Supper, we hold, was a true, proper and complete sacrifice, related intrinsically to the Sacrifice of the Cross. It was the prototype or pattern of the Mass, and therefore, in the order

²⁵ Heb., VII, 22.

of time really the first Mass, for it was nothing else but Christ's own offering of the Mass.²⁶ The Mass of today is essentially the same as the sacrifice of the Last Supper, and this by reason of the fact that it is its exact replica, and the literal fulfilment of Christ's own specific command given to the Apostles and their successors in the priestly office, to imitate the sacrifice which He had just enacted for the first time at the Last Supper. By this, however, we do not wish to insinuate that simply because the Mass is substantially the same as the Last Supper, that it must therefore necessarily differ in essence from the Sacrifice of Calvary. No, for it is our firm belief that the Mass is likewise essentially the same as Calvary, and differs from it only modally, as does the Last Supper also. The Last Supper was an unbloody *anticipatory* representation of the complete Sacrifice of the Cross, whereas Mass today is that selfsame sacrifice, only retrospective. In other words, the former was a foreshadowing of Christ's death and looked forward to Calvary for its literal fulfilment, just as the latter is its memorial and looks backward to it.

Were we, however, to hold that at the Last Supper, Christ did not really enact a complete sacrifice, then we would have logically to conclude, that neither do we offer sacrifice in the Mass, since we are only doing what He did, and what He commanded should be done. But since Tradition,²⁷ confirmed by Trent,²⁸ is unanimous concerning the sacrificial character of the Mass, it necessarily follows as a logical consequence, that the Last Supper must likewise have been a real complete sacrificial celebration, unless we wish to admit that the identity between the two was

²⁶ In proving that the Mass is a true sacrifice, Billuart says: "Christus instituens Eucharistiam verum perfecit sacrificium, se ipsum Patri offerendo sub specie panis et vini: atqui Missa est id ipsum quod fecit et facere praecepit apostolis et eorum in sacerdotio successoribus, dum dixit: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*: ergo. Min. constat. Prob. maj. . . . ex patribus asserentibus Christum in ultima coena hoc sacramentum instituendo, vere sacrificasse. Ita S. Greg. Niss., hom. 2 in Levit., S. Cyprianus, serm. de coena Dom. et epist. 63, S. Leo magnus, serm. 7 de Pass., etc."—*Summa Sancti Thomae*, Dissert. VII, art. I, prob. 3. According to Bishop MacDonald, Calvary would seem to be the prototype of the Mass. Apropos of this, he writes: "It is plain that, in the mind of the Council (i.e., of Trent), there is but a modal difference between the Mass and its prototype, which accords with the tradition of the Church that the Mass is, in substance and essence, the same sacrifice as that of Calvary"—*The Council of Trent and the Sacrifice of the Mass*, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, April, 1926, p. 343.

²⁷ Cf. H. Lamiroy, o.c., p. 234-390; A. Vacant, *Histoire de la conception du sacrifice de la Messe*, Paris, 1894.

²⁸ "Si quis dixerit, in Missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud quam nobis Christum ad manducandum dari: A.S."—Denzinger-Bannwart, o.c., n. 948.

only imperfect, and that therefore one was inferior to the other, or at least incomplete, by reason of some external circumstance or element which had not yet been verified in one of them.²⁹ This latter deduction is the outstanding inconvenience of the modern theory we are discussing, that is, the fact that it actually lessens the completeness of the sacrificial act of the Last Supper, by considering it as the mere sacerdotal oblation of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and therefore not as a distinct and complete sacrifice in itself. It is for this reason, principally, that we hesitate to accept this newly popularized theory despite the confident assertions of Fr. De la Taille that its basis is steeped in tradition. Hence, we shall presently confine our attention exclusively to an impartial and unbiased examination of the passages which he professedly culled from the Fathers and the ancient Liturgies of the Church in support of this alleged traditional view of the question under discussion.

Before doing so, however, it may be well to recall to mind what we hold with regard to the terms *oblation* and *immolation*. Every sacrificial oblation, we pointed out, is a sacrifice or immolation, and conversely, every immolation or sacrifice is a sacrificial oblation, whereas according to Fr. De la Taille, in every sacrifice in which the offerer does not himself destroy the victim, there is to be found a sensible or liturgical oblation which is really distinct from the immolation (that is, the mactation) of the victim.³⁰ Applying this distinction to Christ's redemptive sacrifice, he finds

²⁹ "There is in the Mass more than was in the Supper, not the beginning only but the whole of the Passion."—Bishop MacDonald, *The Council of Trent and the Sacrifice of the Mass*, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, April, 1926, p. 346.

"There is a difference in point of time as between an anticipation and a commemoration of the death. If Fr. McNabb is not satisfied, if he wants to abolish the difference in point of time between the Supper and the Mass, in their regard to the Cross, I cannot follow him. *Before* and *after* make an enormous difference in the Victim of the Cross; a difference which is bound to react on the prospective and the retrospective offering; both of which must necessarily differ, as differs the fact of having been killed from the condition of one who has still to be killed. Nor is the Mass more perfect than the Supper. What the Supper lacked, the Mass presupposes."—Fr. De la Taille, *Reply*, pp. 8, 15, 16. According to Bishop MacDonald there is in the Mass more than there was in the Last Supper, but according to Fr. De la Taille the one is not more perfect than the other by reason of the fact that what the Supper lacked, the Mass presupposes. But of the two conclusions (neither of which, however, appeals to us) we think that Bishop MacDonald's is the more logical here, for if it be admitted that the Last Supper lacked something which in the Mass is presupposed, then there must be in the Mass, as Bishop MacDonald remarks, something more than there was in the Supper. Further on in a special article we shall consider the "time element" objection.

³⁰ *M. F.*, p. 11, n. 2.

its oblation in the Supper,³¹ and its immolation on the Cross.³² Granting for the sake of argument that such be the case, since he cites passages from tradition to prove his contention, it follows that if these testimonies are to be valid and conclusive, they must associate the act of oblation with the Supper, and that of immolation with the Cross. If they do not, we can not see how they can be regarded as impregnable, or at least as effectual traditional proofs. This will be seen presently when we treat of the principal authorities which the author grouped under the caption of 'testimonia directa.'

The first authority to be invoked by Fr. De la Taille, is Hesychius in his commentary on Leviticus 8, lib. 2.³³ In his treatment of this book, we must bear in mind, that Hesychius aims primarily to point out the apparent parallel between the Mosaic sacrifice and that of Christ. Moses himself is a kind of prototype of Christ, and his sacrifice literally prefigures in a perfect way the subsequent sacrifice of Christ. For this reason, when he presents his explanation of the Mosaic sacrifice wherein Aaron and his sons put their hands on the head of the ram immolated by Moses, he says:³⁴

*"Necessarie simul cum Aaron et filii ejus super caput arietis manus imponunt, quia communem coenam festivitatis paschalis cum suis Christus discipulis celebravit. . . .Sed Moyses hoc celebravit, quia magis ab aliis ipse Christi figuram gerit. Tunc autem maxime sacrificium suum Christus celebravit."*³⁵

This manner of sacrifice then, as enacted by Moses, was performed as a type of the sacrifice of Christ, when together with His Apostles, he celebrated the common supper of the paschal festivity. There, Hesychius tells us, Christ *principally* celebrated His sacrifice. If Christ, therefore, at the Last Supper celebrated His sacrifice in the highest degree (maxime), then surely it must have been a sacrifice begun and completed there, unless perchance we wish to assert that the shadow or type of a sacrifice can be greater than its reality or antitype; but this is, of course, impossible. In the passages that follow, Hesychius further shows that the Supper was in itself a true and complete sacrifice:

³¹ *M. F.*, Eluc., III-VIII.

³² *M. F.*, pp. 27, 28.

³³ *M. F.*, p. 46.

³⁴ The words that are italicized indicate the portion of the context which Fr. De la Taille omits from his citation.

³⁵ *P. G.*, XCIII, 882, 883.

"*Primus sacerdos sanguine et post eum filli ejus secundum legem ungebantur: quia et ipse Dominus primus in coena mistica intelligibilem accepit sanguinem atque deinde calicem apostolis dedit.*"³⁶

Here, too, Hesychius continues to draw the parallel between the sacrifice of the Old and that of the New Law. In the Old Law, the Highpriest was the first to be annointed with the blood of the immolated victim, and after him, his sons. This figure, we are told, was subsequently realized in the mystic Supper of our Lord, wherein He took *sanguinem intelligibilem* and proffered it to His Apostles. But what is this *sanguis intelligibilis*, we may ask? Its meaning is evidently of importance, for on its correct interpretation stands or falls the reality and completeness of the sacrifice at the Last Supper in the mind of Hesychius. From one of the primary rules of biblical hermeneutics we know that the literal sense of a word is always to be preferred to any other, unless there be some cogent reason in the context which might positively exclude it. Now the obvious sense of *intelligibilis*, is: that which is intelligible or perceivable by the senses.³⁷ In other words, it is used to signify that a thing is *real* or capable of being recognized as such. In its application to blood, it can therefore have but one meaning, namely blood that is *real* and *perceptible*. Such being the case, it follows that at the Last Supper we have a real sacrifice, since it said explicitly, that there Christ principally celebrated His sacrifice when He took *real blood* and gave it to His Apostles. This fact is brought out still further where Hesychius cites Leviticus 8, 24: "*De sanguine reliquum fudit super altare circuitum,*" adding by way of comment:

"Quod et Christum fecisse invenimus; bibens enim ipse, et apostolis bibere dans, tunc intelligibilem sanguinem super altare videlicet suum corpus, effudit."³⁸

Here again our attention is drawn to the *intelligibilis sanguis* which in the Last Supper, we are told, was poured out by Christ Himself; a rite which was prefigured to a certain extent, in the Mosaic ceremonial where it is prescribed that blood be poured round about the altar by the sacrificing priest. This further use of the term

³⁶ P. G., *Ibid.*, 883.

³⁷ Cf. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon*, edited by J. Bailey, p. 1000, London, 1828; also *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum* Johannis Scapulae, edited by R. Priestly, p. 442, London, 1820.

³⁸ P. G., *Ibid.*, 883.

in the same sense leaves no doubt as to its true and only meaning. Fr. De la Taille realizes its force and in a footnote remarks: "*Intelligibile*, in versione nostra Hesychii, idem sonat quod apud scriptores latinos spirituale."³⁹ But is such an interpretation of the word, justifiable in the aforesaid case? To us, there appears no sufficient reason why the obvious literal sense should be intentionally rejected for the uncertain meaning of spiritual. To say that the blood herein spoken of, is spiritual, is to distort the whole meaning implied in the context. We may indeed speak of a mystic supper, as does Hesychius himself above, but we have absolutely no right to charge him with speaking of the mere effusion of spiritual blood in the Last Supper; for the ideas *spiritual* and *real*, are, we might say, diametrically opposed one to the other.

What has been said above with regard to the sacrificial character of the Old and New Testament sacrifices is now even more expressly confirmed by Hesychius when he writes:

"*Si autem intelligibilem sanctificari Aaron aspersione sanguinis et olei cognovimus, non admiremur quod dictum est, ipse enim Christus ad sanctificationem nostram, aspersione proprii sanguinis videlicet, passionem suam pro nobis obtulit.*"⁴⁰

From this it follows: (1) that as the sprinkling of blood and oil sufficed to sanctify Aaron, so also by the sprinkling of Christ's own blood were we sanctified, for by means of His blood He offered His passion for our sanctification; hence, a true sacrifice as in the case of Aaron's offering; (2) that the effusion of blood of which Hesychius here speaks, is Christ's own blood in contradistinction to what Fr. De la Taille would have Hesychius say in the preceding passage with regard to spiritual blood. When Hesychius further says: "*Passionem suam pro nobis obtulit,*" he simply means that by the sprinkling of His blood, Christ *offered* or *enacted* His Passion in an anticipatory manner that was truly sacrificial; not that He offered Himself *to* the Passion as Fr. De la Taille contends.

In commenting on Leviticus 8, 34: "*Sicut in praesentiarum factum est, ut ritus sacrificii compleretur,*" Hesychius remarks:

"In qua die enim tradidit coenae mysterium, in eadem die deprecationem, sive propitiationem insinuavit, id est peccatorum remissionem, dicens: 'Hic est meus sanguis novi

³⁹ *M. F.*, p. 46, n. 5.

⁴⁰ *P. G.*, *Ibid.*, 885.

testamenti qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum'."41

Peculiarly enough, and contrary to what might be expected, this passage strikingly portrays the propitiatory character of the Last Supper. Besides this, it at the same time proves conclusively that it was a true and real sacrifice, for if it were not, then Hesychius could not have spoken of it as being offered in propitiation or remission of sins, since only true and proper sacrifices, of their very nature are destined to remit sins.

The above group of citations taken exclusively by Fr. De la Taille from Hesychius, leave little room for doubt as to what the latter's mind was, with regard to the Last Supper. Far from portraying it as an oblation in the strict sense of the word, they, on the contrary, very satisfactorily prove, that Hesychius conceived the Supper as a distinct sacrifice, which was complete in itself, no less than were the sacrifices of the Old Testament, of which this was the fulfilment.

But besides the above testimonies of Hesychius, Fr. De la Taille again cites this same writer further to prove that the Last Supper is the act by which Christ offered Himself to the immolation (mactation) which was to take place on Calvary. Thus he says:

"Idem Hesychius distinctione facta inter oblationem et immolationem, notat 1^o) a nullo nisi seipso Christum esse oblatum; 2^o) ne immolari quidem potuisse ab aliis, nisi seipsum ad patiendum tradidisset; 3^o) se tradidisse illum per immolationem sacramentalem quam in coena peregit."

He then proceeds to quote Hesychius verbatim:

"NEMO enim illum OBTULIT; sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ad patiendum tradidisset. PROPTER QUOD non solum dicebat: 'Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam; sed et praeveniens semetipsum in coena apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt qui mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem.'"42

As in the preceding passages quoted from Hesychius, so also here the sacred writer is still striving to bring out as forcibly as possible, the perfect similarity or parallel between the Mosaic and the New Testament sacrifice. Having explained the personal sin offering of the priest he tells us that God commanded that the

41 *M. F., loc., cit.*

42 *M. F. pp. 46, 47.*

priest put his hand on the head of the calf, after which he was to slay it. These particular rites were especially verified in the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ as Hesychius further explains in the passage cited above. "Nemo enim illum (Christum) obtulit," he says. The whole context and the intention underlying it, show that *obtulit* is not to be taken in its strict etymological sense as *really* distinct from immolation, but rather as equivalent or synonymous with 'to sacrifice' or 'to enact a sacrifice' which is complete in itself. In the Old Law the victim was offered in sacrifice, or sacrificed by the priest alone, that is, by some one, other than the victim. In the sacrifice of the New Law, however, in which Christ is the Victim, no one is to offer Him; He is the Highpriest par excellence, and hence, He alone will offer or sacrifice Himself. Having clearly expressed Himself on this point, Hesychius continues as follows: "sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ad patiendum tradidisset." According to Fr. De la Taille, Hesychius would here have us note: "nec immolari quidem potuisse ab aliis, nisi seipsum ad patiendum tradidisset." But such an inference is manifestly inaccurate, for it attributes to Hesychius something which he did not say, and what is more, which he did not even have in mind. Hesychius had just remarked that no one offered or sacrificed Christ; now he introduces a second clause with the adversative particle *sed nec*, in order to emphasize the antithetical relation of the preceding clause to that which is to follow presently. Thus, after having said that not only did no one offer Christ in sacrifice, he goes on to point out that even so, Christ could not have immolated (sacrificed) Himself unless (by an act of His will) He had given Himself to suffering; not that He could not *have been* immolated by others, as Fr. De la Taille paraphrases the passage. Here *immolare* is used in the *active voice*, not the passive. What Hesychius wishes to emphasize, is, that in order that Christ be able to immolate Himself, He must freely offer Himself for this purpose; not that this voluntary oblation is necessary so that He may be immolated (mactated) by others. The sequence of tenses herein employed clearly indicates that Christ is the subject of the two verbs, *poterat* and *tradidisset*. Their object is likewise Christ. To confirm his statement, Hesychius adduces two proofs which follow in the next sentence which reads: "Propter quod non solum dicebat: *potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam*: sed et praeve-

niens semetipsum in coena apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt qui mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem." Fr. De la Taille interprets this passage to mean: "Sed tradidisse illum per immolationem sacramentalem quam in coena peregit." But this can not be the mind of Hesychius, who merely wants to show that Christ was a victim of His own free-will, and not by coercion or violence. His immolation is due wholly to Himself, a fact which is manifested in a twofold manner: (1) not only when Christ said "potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam," but also (2) in the fact that: "praeveniens semetipsum in coena apostolorum immolavit." Therefore, even at the Last Supper, by the immolation therein involved, Christ outwardly manifested that He was free to offer Himself in sacrifice. Hence, His sacrifice was exclusively to be attributed to Himself, for at the Last Supper He even anticipated His future sacrifice on Calvary by an unbloody immolation. Christ, therefore, outwardly immolated Himself twice; once at the Last Supper, and once on the Cross; and on both occasions He is the sole offerer of His sacrifice. This is precisely what Hesychius set out to prove. But contrary to this, Fr. De la Taille would restrict the meaning of the entire passage and see in it, only a proof of Christ's oblation by a sacramental immolation, to His future immolation (mactation) on Calvary. But there is nothing in the entire passage or context to warrant such a conclusion. On the contrary, when Hesychius says that Christ immolated Himself at the Last Supper, he can only mean one thing, namely, that Christ actually sacrificed Himself then and there, and that by means of this sacrificial act gave a further proof of His total independence in the offering of His sacrifice. Hesychius does not employ *offerre* and *immolare* in their strict etymological sense, but rather in their broad sense in the meaning of 'to offer or enact a sacrifice,' a fact which we have already seen verified in the previous citations given by Fr. De la Taille.

The next citation to be found in *Mysterium Fidei* is another passage of Hesychius which treats expressly of the Saviour's sacrifice whereby salvation was obtained both for Jew and Gentile. Thus:

"Ipse enim propriam carnem immolavit, ipse sui sacrificii pontifex in Sion factus est; quando sanguinis novi testamenti dabat calicem."⁴³

⁴³ *M. F.*, p. 47.

Now as Aaron, in the capacity of Highpriest is said to have immolated the calf as a sin offering (Lev. XVI, 11-13), so likewise is Christ constituted the priest of His own sacrifice. Aaron offered a real sacrifice; and so does Christ by the immolation of His own flesh. When did Christ offer or enact His sacrifice? Hesychius answers that Christ *immolated* His flesh when He gave the New Testament chalice of Blood at the Last Supper. Therefore, the immolation enacted at the Supper must have been a true and complete sacrifice, no less than was the immolation of the calf by Aaron.

Hesychius is again cited as saying:

“Illic (i.e. in the cenacle) enim, semetipsum unigenitus immolavit, illic PASSIONI INITIUM DEDIT.”⁴⁴

Christ, therefore, immolated Himself at the Last Supper. But the expression ‘to immolate one’s self,’ in the sense employed by Hesychius throughout His commentary, is synonymous with the term ‘to offer one’s self *in* sacrifice,’ and not ‘to offer *to* a sacrifice.’ Its meaning in this sense was even exemplified in the preceding citation where Christ is spoken of as having immolated His own flesh. It therefore designates the enactment of a complete sacrifice. If Hesychius speaks of the immolation which took place at the Last Supper as the beginning of the Passion, he merely intends to say that, since the Last Supper prefigured or anticipated the Passion, it may be said to have begun it. But to infer from this, that the Supper formally enters into the one sacrificial act of Christ as supplying the prerequisite element of oblation, is an unconscious anachronism and therefore unjustifiable.

Fully confident that the citations of Hesychius directly support his theory, Fr. De la Taille passes over to the authority of St. Ambrose. Here the distinguished author points out that ‘to offer one’s life for country or friends’ is the same as ‘to lay down one’s life or to give one’s self to death.’ Indeed this is quite so and no one will gainsay it. But with regard to the conclusion he subsequently deduces from its application to the following words of St. Ambrose, we feel constrained to take exception, as it appears wholly unwarranted. St. Ambrose writes:

“Vidimus principem sacerdotem ad nos venientem; vidimus et AUDIVIMUS offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum.”⁴⁵

⁴⁴ M. F., *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ M. F., *Ibid.*

Fr. De la Taille notes that the scene herein mentioned is that of the Last Supper as may be inferred from the word *audivimus*. Here Christ is heard to be offering⁴⁶ His Blood for us when He utters the words of consecration. This is indeed true; Christ is offering (offerentem) Himself, and hence may be said to be *actually laying down His life* for His fellow-men. If Christ, therefore, lays down His life at the Last Supper, even though only in a sacramental manner, then the Last Supper must necessarily be considered a true and complete sacrifice, for when a person is said to have laid down his life for another, he is understood to have made the supreme sacrifice by actually giving up his very life. At any rate, this passage does not justify the formal association of the Last Supper to the Passion, as though the Supper were not in itself, the enactment of a complete sacrificial act, but only its prerequisite liturgical offering.

The author arrives at the same conclusion from a consideration of passages extant in the ancient Oriental liturgies in which it is said, that at the Last Supper Christ was *handed over*, or rather that He offered Himself for the salvation of the world. This, according to the same author, would seem to insinuate that in the act of supping, Christ gave Himself up to God in death. Thus the principal part of the author's citation culled from the liturgy of St. Ambrose, reads:

“. . . in ea nocte qua tradebatur, IMMO SEIPSUM TRADEBAT PRO MUNDI VITA et salute.”⁴⁷

The same reading finds expression in the liturgy of St. Mark:

“Jesus Christus NOCTE QUA TRADEBAT SEIPSUM pro peccatis nostris, et MORTEM PRO OMNIBUS SUSCIPIEBAT.”

After these, reference is also made to the other ancient liturgies such as that of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and that of the Syro-Antiochene rite, in which essentially the same set phrases are to be found. But even in these passages there is absolutely nothing to indicate that the Supper enters into the sacrificial act of Christ, as supplying the first of the two elements which Fr. De la Taille holds essential to the sacrifice of the Passion. On the contrary, as in the preceding passage of St. Ambrose, they plainly indicate

⁴⁶ *M. F.*, *Ibid.*, n. 2.

⁴⁷ *M. F.*, p. 48.

that, when Christ at the Last Supper handed Himself over or gave Himself up to death, He verily offered Himself *in* sacrifice by suffering death in a mystical or sacramental manner. The Last Supper, therefore, is a truly completed sacrifice, and not a mere liturgical oblation directed to the Passion as one of its integral or component parts.

Furthermore, Fr. De la Taille tells us that our ancestors in the East even poetized the fact that the fluid shed on the Cross was the very same as that which Christ offered while supping. Thus:

“In excelsis gloria
 “Ex Christi memoria
 “Sit, qui dat mysteria
 “Panis vitae.
 “Hunc panem virgo tulit;
 “POTUM Natus OBTULIT
 “Quem in SACRA PROTULIT
 “CRUCIS VITE”⁴⁸

From this he concludes that the blood shed on the Cross was offered at the Last Supper. Indeed, but what proof is there that this oblation was not a complete sacrifice in itself, anticipating, as it were, the bloody oblation of the Cross? There is, as far as we can see, nothing whatsoever in the poem that would argue an oblation as distinct from the oblation or immolation on the Cross. The term *offerre* in connection with a propitiatory sacrifice, we have seen, usually designates a complete sacrifice. For this reason, since in the context there is nothing to justify its strict interpretation, it must naturally be accepted in the broad sense and therefore signify a whole sacrifice.

As a further testimony bearing directly on his theory, Fr. De la Taille cites a passage taken from the Ambrosian rite. Thus:

“Quid desperare de tua misericordia possumus, qui tantum manus accepimus ut talem tibi hostiam offerre mereremur, corpus scilicet et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, QUI SE MUNDI REDEMPTIONE PIAE AC VENERANDAE TRADIDIT PASSIONI? QUI FORMAM SACRIFICII SALUTIS INSTITUENS, HOSTIAM SE PRIMUS OBTULIT, et primus docuit offerre?”⁴⁹

It is true that this passage speaks of Christ as having offered Himself to His Passion, but it can in no wise be logically concluded

⁴⁸ *M. F.*, p. 49.

⁴⁹ *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

that this was the formal act of oblation to the immolation of the Passion. The natural and obvious sense is, that Christ freely and willingly consented to offer Himself in sacrifice for the redemption of mankind. Moreover, the strict interpretation of the word *offerre* is excluded by the very text itself. The first part of the passage speaks of the body and blood of Christ being offered (*offerre mereremur*) in the Mass by priests. This clearly proves that the word *offerre* is to be taken in the broad sense to signify the enactment of a complete sacrifice, and not a mere liturgical oblation; for if priests are said to offer in the Mass, this can only mean that they offer up a true and complete sacrifice. Furthermore, in the last part of the citation, Christ is said to have instituted the form of the Eucharistic Sacrifice (*qui formam sacrificii salutis instituens*); to have been the first to have offered Himself as a Victim (*hostiam se primus obtulit*), and also to have been the first to teach that He was thenceforth to be offered in the same way (*et primus docuit offerre*). But if Christ really *offered* Himself as a Victim, and commanded that He be *offered*, then *offerre* naturally can have reference only to a complete sacrifice, and therefore mean that at the Last Supper He enacted a true sacrifice, which in the offering of the Mass is repeated in the same way.

This is by no means a complete list of all the authorities adduced by Fr. De la Taille to prove the intrinsic association between the Last Supper and Calvary as forming two distinct acts of the one Sacrifice of the Passion.⁵⁰ They do, however, form the main bulk of his so-called 'testimonia directa.'⁵¹ We have restricted our attention to these, since it is on them, principally, that the traditional proof is based. But after a careful investigation of the same, we find that taken individually, they too, fail to show any

⁵⁰ If we have understood Fr. De la Taille aright, this was the object he had in view when he drew up his traditional proof, for under ch. III which is headed 'De Oblatione Passionis peracta in Coena,' he says: "Id nobis est propositi ut ostendatur Christus, in coena effigiem suae passionis conficiens, obtulisse Deo passionis suae veritatem sacerdotaliter. Quod constabit: *Primo* ex comparatione coenae cum passione. . . ." The second section of this proof supposedly confirms the former, and is captioned 'Idem argumentum ex Traditione.' From this we think that we have rightly inferred what his intention was when he formulated this proof; namely, to prove that tradition vouches for the simple sacerdotal oblation of Christ's Passion made at the Last Supper.—Cf. *M. F.*, pp. 33, 39.

⁵¹ On the value of the five remaining authorities, namely, Cassiodorus, Primacius, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, and St. Bruno of Grenoble, also grouped under 'testimonia directa,' but not mentioned explicitly by us, *vide* an able critical article by the late Fr. Swaby in the *Am. Eccl. Review*, Nov., 1923, p. 462 ff. Cf. also Fr. De la Taille's reply to Fr. Swaby in the same review, Aug., 1924, p. 122 ff., or in *A Reply to Critics*, p. 25 ff.

formal connection between the Last Supper and Calvary, a fact which even the author himself later openly admitted when he wrote:

"True, most of the authorities collected could not be looked upon as conclusive individually and severally. As was noted twice (M. F., p. 39-40 et 237-238), their force lies in their coherence, in their perfect convergence toward one and the same issue. Thus arises a cumulative probability, which not only amounts to practical certainty, but also is as such more convincing than any individual text, however clear it may be. Any individual testimony is always open to question more or less on the part of one prejudiced against its import."⁵²

To this last conclusion we merely answer that, the accusation of a biased opinion on the part of his opponents is first a vicious circle: it supposes that in finding fault with his assertions one must necessarily be in the wrong. Secondly, it is a dangerous weapon which, like a boomerang, may fall back on him who hurls it. We might, therefore, be fully justified in replying with an *ad hominem* argument, and say for instance that, if Fr. De la Taille persists in attributing to the sacred writers a distinction which individual texts show conclusively they did not have in mind, then it is simply because he permits himself to be unconsciously influenced by a distinction which is so essential and necessary for the validity of his own cherished theory that it prevents him from grasping the true meaning of the authorities he invokes. In conclusion, therefore, we may rightly say that all the passages cited above, and their import weighed accordingly, directly militate against the concept that Fr. De la Taille reads into them.

ARTICLE III

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

In order to bolster up, to a certain extent, the alleged traditional argument that the Last Supper was nothing more than Christ's sacerdotal oblation of Himself to the Passion (i.e., the Sacrifice of the Cross), Fr. De la Taille goes on to prove the 'numerical unity' that is supposed to exist between these two different liturgical acts of Christ's one sacrifice. In an effort to accomplish

⁵² *Reply*, p. 33.

this, he has recourse (1) to the history of the Tridentine definition; and (2) to the tenor of the same definition.⁵³

But before proceeding any further it may not be amiss to remark that, in the sacred definitions of a Council, the traditional meaning of any doctrine is invariably conveyed when couched in the same traditional terms, which have, as it were, been consecrated by their repeated use. The terms which a Council employs must therefore be accepted as having been used in their common traditional sense, since they belong to the great deposit of the Church, of which the Council is the official custodian. Such being the case, it must consequently follow that the underlying meaning of the terms adopted by the early Christian writers, must have been firmly grasped and given full expression in the declarations of the Fathers. Fr. De la Taille fully realizes this, and hence seeks a confirmation of his previous arguments in the interpretation of the words employed in the conciliar debates and the council's ultimate definitions. But before proceeding any further we may remark that the traditional testimonies cited by him to prove that the Last Supper was merely the formal offering of the Passion, are far from being conclusive. The argument from the council rather weakens his position and must, therefore, directly militate against his theory, if an examination of the meaning attached to *oblatio* and *offerre* during the conciliar debates, bears out that they were used in their purely broad sense, and not in their restricted meaning of offering. If such be the case, we shall have a further vindication of our contention; while on the other hand, Fr. De la Taille's interpretation of the traditional authorities will once again be shown to have been influenced by a preoccupation to establish a distinction which is fundamental to his theory.

1. *History of the Tridentine Definition*⁵⁴

In the sixteenth century the Church felt the necessity of summoning an ecumenical council in order to settle the various religious controversies centering round the rule of faith and the sacraments. It was as early as December 13, 1545, that the Council of Trent convened to combat the errors of Protestantism, and having

⁵³ Cf. *M. F.* p. 113 ff.—Bishop MacDonald likewise contends that the Tridentine Fathers favor this theory under discussion. Cf. his articles apropos of this in the *Am. Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, pp. 342-352; *Ibid.*, Dec., 1926, pp. 646-654; and *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, p. 63 ff.

⁵⁴ Cf. Theiner, *Acta genuina ss. oecumenici Concilii Tridentini*, Zagabrie (Croatiae), 1874, 2 vols. in 4^o.

been interrupted twice, came to a successful close on December 4, 1563.

When the Fathers of the Council came to the discussion of the institution of the Mass, Fr. De la Taille says there were various tendencies among them:

"alii nullam volebant fieri diffinitionem conciliarem de coena: alii nolebant in diffinitione adnecti coenae rationem oblationis seu sacrificii; alii rationem oblationis propitiatoriae saltem excludebant. Quorum omnium palmare erat, quos magnam facesserat difficultatem cum haereticis, si ante sacrificium aliud quodpiam Christo adjudicaretur, praesertim propitiatorium. Supponebant quippe illi omnes coenam cum cruce connumerari tamquam duo sacrificia. E regione autem statere qui, istam dualitatem confodientes, toto animo incumbere vindicandae unitati numericae qua iter tandem pararetur planum ac tutum ad diffinitionem conciliarem constituendam, ut jacet. Quorum igitur opera maximopere factum est ut decretum conderetur. Habes igitur duas sententias, quarum una parum abfuit quin efformando decreto obstaret, altera inservivit."⁵⁵

But were there really two opinions prevalent amongst the Fathers, one of which held that the Supper and the Cross were two numerically distinct sacrifices, whilst the other stood for the numeric unity of Christ's sacrifice? To us, such does not seem to have been the case, for upon examining the Acts of the Council, we find that in 1551⁵⁶ one of the heretical propositions submitted to a chosen body of theologians for examination, read as follows: 'Mass is neither a sacrifice nor an oblation for sin,'⁵⁷. In discussing this twofold question, namely, of the reality of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and of its propitiatory character, the theologians were

⁵⁵ *M. F.*, p. 113.

⁵⁶ Later on, that is, in 1562, these two identical questions were again submitted to the theologians, but this time they were formulated in two distinct canons, namely, I and XII which read as follows: "I. An missa sit sola commemoratio sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem verum sacrificium.—XII. An Christum pro nobis mystice immolari idem sit, quod nobis ad manducandum dari."—Theiner, *o. c.*, II, p. 58.

⁵⁷ According to Bishop MacDonald, "The questions that the discussion turned chiefly upon were these five:

1. Is the Mass a mere commemoration of the Sacrifice of the Cross?
2. Is the Mass derogatory to the Sacrifice of the Cross?
3. Is the Mass merely a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving?
4. Is the Offering in the Mass nothing else but that Christ is given us in the guise of bread?"
5. Did Christ in the words, *Do this for a commemoration of me*, ordain that the Apostles should offer His Body and Blood in the Mass?"—*Am. Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, p. 343, or Dec., 1926, p. 647.

naturally led back to the question of the Last Supper of which the Mass, is, in a certain sense, as we have said, the reproduction and continuation. An additional point to be decided, therefore, was: whether or not Christ offered a true sacrifice at the Last Supper, and if He did, should it be expressly stated so in the canon. That this was the true state of the question at issue, and not whether or not the Supper and Calvary are one or two sacrifices, will be further seen from the citations of the Fathers to be given presently. In their answers to the proposed question, the Fathers were by no means unanimous. A great many, nay, the majority, as we shall see, stood for the Supper being recognized as a true sacrifice, and to prove their point even insisted that the Passion really began at the Last Supper. Others took the opposite view, which Fr. De la Taille insists upon, namely, that if a dual sacrifice be admitted, then the Supper having had propitiatory value, we would have been redeemed by that sacrifice, and not by that of the Cross, to which Scripture attributes our redemption. Others, again, sought to preserve the sacrificial character of the Last Supper without derogating from the value of the Cross. They wanted it stated that Christ indeed offered a sacrifice in the Last Supper, but would omit deciding whether or not it had expiatory value. A few others even proposed new solutions of the difficulty involved in the recognition of the Supper as a true sacrifice. There were still others, who for the time being, through uncertainty, either refrained from committing themselves, or else expressed agreement with one of the Fathers, or cast their lot with the majority, or finally surrendered the discussion to theologians whom they thought should decide the question after a more thorough study.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ According to Bishop MacDonald, "there is striking accord in statements of the . . . Fathers who spoke at Trent of the relation of the Supper to the Cross, and who form the great majority of speakers on that subject. A certain number content themselves with saying that they agree with such or such a one of the Fathers who preceded. Thus the Bishop of Assisi "probat sententiam Leriensis"; and the Bishop of Auxerre "est in voto Parisiensis." Far the greater number, however, give their "votum" or judgment in express words, and for the most part, briefly. These fall into two groups, some declaring that the Supper is one sacrifice with the Cross, others that Christ began His Sacrifice in the Supper and finished it on the Cross."—*American Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, p. 347. In the former group he places Mgr. du Bellay (Parisiensis), Mgr. Gaspar de Casal (Leriensis), Mgr. Baldinus (Lerinensis), the Bishop of Campania (Campaniensis), the Bishop of Viviers (Vivariensis), Mgr. Mugatonnes (Sigobricensis), Mgr. Ciarella (Buduensis), and Niocensis. In the second group he places the Archbishop of Palermo (Panormitanus), Chironensis, Mgr. de Contreras (Vicensis), Calubriensis, the Bishop of Teano (Theanensis), Bishop Simon de Negrís (Sarzanensis), the Patriarch of Jerusalem (Justinopolitanus), and the Bishop of St. Agatha. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 347-349.

To pass now directly to Fr. De la Taille's quotations. The vital sentence on which his proof is based, is printed in capitals, whereas the passages of the context which he omits will be indicated by italics.

First of all, then, he cites Eustachius du Bellay, Bishop of Paris (Parisiensis):

*"Ea quae dicuntur, sacrae scripturae auctoritate et ecclesiae auctoritate fulcienda sunt, et patrum auctoritatibus confirmanda. In Missa igitur verum est sacrificium a Christo institutum illis verbis: Hoc facite: CHRISTUSQUE IN ILLA COENA SE IPSUM OBTULIT, ait enim: Corpus quod traditur et sanguis, qui funditur (juxta graecam lectionem): eo scilicet tempore: ipseque praecepit faciendum, quod fecit, in suam commemorationem. Non enim esset in ejus memoriam, nisi ipse obtulisset: NON SUNT TAMEN DUAE OBLATIONES SED UNA CUM ILLA CRUCIS. Nam in coenae oblatione coeperat pati, et fuit continuata cum illa crucis: fuitque expiatoria, quia est eadem cum illa crucis. Praeterea non implevisset figuram Melchisedech, quae non in cruce, sed in coena adimpleta fuit, cum illa crucis longe diversa fuerit a figura Melchisedech: . . . Explicetur Christum in coena se obtulisse."*⁵⁹

Now we ask whether this passage can be said to uphold the numeric unity of Christ's sacrifice? Moreover, does it prove at all that the Archbishop considered the Last Supper as the formal oblation, which, coupled with the immolation (i.e., mactation, in the sense adopted in *Mysterium Fidei*) of the Cross go to constitute one numerically identical sacrifice? To these queries we may unreservedly and unhesitatingly answer in the negative; since there is not the slightest mention or indication of the two distinct acts being formally united into one. What he does hold, is, that Christ really offered *Himself* in the Last Supper (*Christusque in coena se ipsum obtulit*); a fact which he even tries to prove by citing Scripture. Now the question is, what meaning do the words *se ipsum obtulit*, convey? Do they perchance mean that Christ offered Himself liturgically to His future immolation (mactation) on Calvary, or do they mean that He offered sacrifice, that is, that He really enacted a true sacrifice? *Offerre*, we have seen, when used in conjunction with a propitiatory sacrifice, can have but one meaning, namely, the offering of a victim in sacrifice, and hence in one complete act that is truly sacrificial. This fact

⁵⁹ *M. F.*, p. 114; Theiner, *o. c.* II, p. 82.

is doubly certain from what follows this sacrificial terminology in the present case. "Non enim esset in ejus memoriam," he says, "nisi ipse obtulisset." To make his point even clearer he argues that the *oblation* at the Last Supper was expiatory, inasmuch as it was substantially one and the same as that of the Cross (*fuitque expiatoria quia est eadem cum illa crucis*). Hence not only the completeness of the Sacrifice of the Cross, but also that of the Last Supper, is explicitly affirmed by the Archbishop. His conclusion, therefore, is, that the Council in its definition should declare that Christ offered Himself at the Last Supper, that is to say, that He really enacted a complete sacrifice (*explicetur Christum in coena se obtulisse*).

Fr. De la Taille next mentions that the Bishop of Fiesole (Fesulanus) expressed agreement with the Archbishop of Paris. In fact, this Bishop does agree with him, not however in the sense that Fr. De la Taille would have him; but rather in the sense we have expounded above, thus confirming our own contention. His words are:

"Explicetur, Christum in coena obtulisse, ut antiqui et moderni doctores tradunt; obtulitque Christus propitiatorie, quia est una et eadem oblatio cum illa crucis."⁶⁰

Christ's oblation at the Last Supper, according to this Bishop, was expiatory, and therefore truly sacrificial, inasmuch as it was one with that of the Cross. Here too, *obtulit* signifies that Christ really sacrificed, as the Bishop is speaking of the Supper being regarded as a true sacrifice.

The next authority quoted by Fr. De la Taille is Gaspar de Casal, Bishop of Leiria (Leriensis). The passage cited is but a mere sentence, which, taken by itself, independently of the context, might be misleading. When taken, however, with its context, its meaning at once becomes clear. Thus says the Bishop:

"*Explicetur, Christum in coena obtulisse se propitiatorie. . . . Et si Christus obtulit in coena aliquo modo, ut aliqui ex patribus dixerunt, necesse est dicere, quod obtulit propitiatorie, quia ut b. Thomas ait, quotiescumque aliquod Deo offertur, quod vel occiditur, vel manducatur, vel bibitur, est verum sacrificium: ita cum Christus benedixerit, mutaverit panem in corpus suum, et vinum in sanguinem, fregerit, manducaverit etc. necesse est dicere, quod verum sacrificium obtulerit et fuit propitiatorium per modum hostiae oblatae in cruce. Et hoc sacrificium successit nobis*

⁶⁰ *M. F., Ibid., Theiner, o. c., II, p. 83.*

in locum omnium sacrificiorum veteris legis: ergo est expiatorium, cum aliqua eorum erant propitiatoria: ergo et nostrum . . . et hoc habetur ex Christi institutione: neque hoc differt ab illo crucis, nisi cruento vel incruento. Non autem dicunt, quod unum sit expiatorium, et alius non: quod quidem dixissent, si illud coenae non propitiatorium fuisse intellixissent: neque alio modo sacrificium illud correspondisset omnibus figuris veteris legis, in qua erant sacrificia non solum pacifica, sed expiatoria: et alias si non obtulisset propitiatorie Christus, neque nos offerre possemus propitiatorie, cum Christus praeceperit ut nos faceremus, quod ipse fecerat, dicens: Hoc facite. Si enim ipse obtulisset sacrificium gratiarum actionis, id et nos faceremus ex Christi institutione: nam nostrum sacrificium ex Christi institutione efficaciam habet. Praeterea omnia, quae erant in sacrificiis propitiatoriis, sunt in sacrificio Christi in coena: ergo etc. representabat enim oblationem crucis, et ea ratione b. Thomas dixit eucharistiam esse expiatoriam: et licet Christus non fuisset adhuc passus tamen re praesentabat passionem faciendam. Nam et patres illis antiqui salvabantur in fide Christi venturi, et hic illa sacrificia habebant efficaciam: sicut et nos salvamur in fide Christi, qui jam venit; et nostrum sacrificium habet efficaciam in virtute praeteriti Christi sacrificii.”⁶¹

This opinion was expressed by the Bishop on the 19th of August, 1562, but as he had not yet finished his discourse, he resumed the same discussion on the following day when he restated all that he had previously said concerning the propitiatory sacrifice offered by Christ at the Last Supper (confirmavit igitur Christum in coena obtulisse sacrificium propitiatorium). After this he continued in the same strain as follows:

“Nam si nostrum sacrificium in missa est expiatorium, multo magis illud Christi in coena: cum nos eadem faciamus quae Christus fecit: alias nostrum sacrificium esset magis fructuosum fuisset illud Christi. Responditque ad argumenta adversariorum cum dicunt Christum unica oblatione consumasse etc. quod Paulus intelligit ipsam rem oblatam, quae opponitur sacrificiis veteris legis, cum dicat: Unam offerens hostiam pro peccatis in sempiternum sedet etc. una igitur et eadem est hostia, illa coenae et illa crucis: una itaque oblatione, idest una hostia . . . Igitur illa in coena est eadem cum illa crucis. Unde dicit Christus: Nunc clarificatus est filius hominis: etc: Nunc relinquo mundum. Et Joan. XVII in eadem coena dicit: Opus consummavi. Est igitur una hostia et UNA OBLATIO ILLA COENAE ET ILLA CRUCIS: estque utraque indivisibilis.”⁶²

⁶¹ Theiner, o. c., *Ibid.*

⁶² Theiner, o. c., *Ibid.*; M. F., l. c.

The above quotation more than suffices to reveal the mind of the Bishop with regard to what he held concerning the Last Supper. He is outspoken in his belief that the Supper is a real propitiatory sacrifice; in fact, he sets out to prove conclusively that it is. The Mass, he tells us, obtains its efficacy from its institution at the Last Supper (*nostrum sacrificium ex Christi institutione efficaciam habet*). It has all the requisites of a propitiatory sacrifice since it represented the oblation of the Cross (*omnia, quae erant in sacrificiis propitiatoriis, sunt in sacrificio Christi in coena: ergo etc. repraesentabat enim oblationem crucis*). And even though Christ had not as yet suffered, his sacrifice was nevertheless propitiatory, inasmuch as it represents His future Passion (*et licet Christus non fuisset adhuc passus tamen re prae-sentabat passionem faciendam*). Our forefathers, he further says, were saved by faith in the Christ to come, and their sacrifices were efficacious; we are saved by faith in Christ who has already come, and our sacrifice is efficacious in virtue of Christ's past sacrifice (*Nam et patres illi antiqui salvabantur in fide Christi venturi, et hic illa sacrificia habebant efficaciam: sicut et nos salvamur in fide Christi, qui jam venit; et nostrum sacrificium habet efficaciam in virtute praeteriti Christi sacrificii*). Moreover, he contends that if the Mass is expiatory, then much more so is Christ's sacrifice in the Supper, since we do the same as He did (*Nam si nostrum sacrificium in missa est expiatorium, multo magis illud Christi in coena: cum nos eadem faciamus quae Christus fecit*). If this were not so, he continues, it would follow that our sacrifice would be more profitable than the very sacrifice of Christ (*alia nostrum sacrificium esset magis fructuosum, quam fuisset illud Christi*).

With regard to the short extract cited by Fr. De la Taille as a proof that the Supper was a mere liturgical offering, we may rightly say that this was occasioned by the Bishop's desire further to prove and bring home his own point, by answering the objections of his opponents, who held as does Fr. De la Taille himself, that Christ was consummated in one oblation or sacrifice. Paul, he says, understood this one oblation of the thing that was offered, that is, of the victim, which he opposes to all the sacrifices of the Old Law when he says: "*Unam offerens hostiam pro peccatis, in sempiternum sedet etc.*" Indeed, the Bishop says too, that the sacrifice is one, and this by reason of the fact that it is the same

victim which is offered both at the Supper and on the Cross: "una igitur et eadem est hostia . . . Igitur oblatio (i. e. sacrifice) illa in coena est eadem cum illa crucis). What he wishes to emphasize, is, that the Sacrifice of the Last Supper and that of the Cross are indeed substantially one and the same, since the Victim in both sacrifices is identically one and the same. Wherefore, he rightly concludes: "Est igitur una oblatio illa coena et illa crucis estque utraque indivisibilis." It had been objected that Paul insists on the oneness of Christ's oblation, so here the Bishop shows that even by regarding the Supper as real sacrifice, Paul's doctrine is not opposed, since the substance of the sacrifice is ever the same, and hence indivisible. The presumption, therefore, that oblation here refers to a liturgical offering, and not to a sacrifice in its entirety, is irreconcilable with the context, for a mere oblation as such, can not be said to possess propitiatory value, such as the Bishop professedly assigns to the Supper. This conclusion illustrates the danger of disregarding the rules of textual criticism; for when a sentence or statement is taken apart from its context, a person may be charged with having said something which was entirely foreign to that which was originally intended.

Another authority to be cited in *Mysterium Fidei* is that of the Bishop of Calvi (Calvensis). In part, this Bishop said:

*"Explicetur Christum se obtulisse in coena . . . Fuit autem secundum ordinem Melchisedech sacerdos, ergo obtulit panem et vinum: id autem non nisi in coena, ergo etc. Sacrificavitque Christus expiatorie neque nos facimus aliud quam Christus fecerit; neque alia oblatio est illa coenae, et illa crucis: cum igitur una sit expiatoria, ergo et alia et quando unum sit propter aliud, non dicitur nisi unum."*⁶³

According to this view, Christ was a priest according to the order of Melchisedech, and as such, at the Last Supper, offered (obtulit) a sacrifice of bread and wine which had expiatory value. This expiatory oblation of the Last Supper does not differ from that of the Cross (neque alia oblatio est illa coenae, et illa crucis; cum igitur sit expiatoria, ergo et alia). In conclusion, he says that the sacrifice nevertheless is substantially one and the same (quando unum sit propter aliud, non dicitur nisi unum).

With regard to the view held by the Archbishop of Palermo (Panormitanus), we also read: "Probat Christum se in coena

⁶³ Theiner, *o. c.*, II, p. 92; *M. F.*, p. 114.

obtulisse, *alias proprie non adimplevisse figuram Melchisedech: et tunc coepit se offerre; perfecit autem in cruce.*"⁶⁴ According to him, Christ offered Himself *in* sacrifice at the Last Supper, which is the same as to say, that there Christ enacted a complete sacrifice, thus inaugurating, to a certain extent, the sacrifice which was to be ultimately consummated on Calvary. This is, of course, admissible, inasmuch as the Supper prefigured, and, in a way even anticipated the Cross. But it does not in the least allow us to conclude that the Supper *formally* entered into the one sacrifice of Christ, as supplying the element of oblation.

In addition to the above, Fr. De la Taille mentions, in passing, that the Bishops of Viviers (Vivariensis), Campagna (Campaniensis), and Teano (Theanensis), and also many others, express themselves in like terms with regard to the Last Supper, thus inferring that they considered it a component part of Christ's one sacrifice. But the truth is, that they are all unanimous in affirming that the Last Supper is an expiatory sacrifice (oblatio), and as such, is one and the same as the Sacrifice (oblatio) of the Cross. Thus, for instance, the Bishop of Viviers says:

*"Explicetur, quod Christus se ipsum obtulit in coena expiativo modo: est enim una eadem hostia, et unum et idem sacrificium cum illo crucis."*⁶⁵

In a somewhat similar strain the Bishop of Campagna remarks:

*"Ponatur, Christum se obtulisse in coena expiatorie, et instituisse sacrificium et sacerdotium . . . Illa autem oblatio est una et eadem cum illa crucis etc."*⁶⁶

The Bishop of Teano expresses his opinion in unmistakable terms, and what is more, even attempts to prove his contention. Thus:

*"Christusque obtulit se in coena, nam si consecravit, et obtulit, consecratio enim ordinatur ad sacrificium. Obtulitque expiatorie, quod multis modis comprobavit: nam sicuti illa est expiatoria, ita cum oblatione crucis, sicuti illa est expiatoria, ita est ista coenae."*⁶⁷

This view also found expression in the remarks of the rest of the Fathers whom Fr. De la Taille would quote as supporting his theory.⁶⁸ Needless to say, no trace of it could be found in any of

⁶⁴ Theiner, o. c., II, p. 79; *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ Theiner, o. c., II, p. 85; *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Theiner, o. c., II, p. 86; *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Theiner, o. c., II, p. 89; *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ For an evaluation of the passage taken from the discourse of Adolphus III, Archbishop of Cologne, *vide* J. B. Brosnan in *The Sacrifice of the New Law*, pp. 183-194, New York, 1926.

the passages just quoted, a fact which will appear even more evident when we presently examine the tenor of the Tridentine definition itself.

2. *Tenor of the Tridentine Definition*

In support of his contention that the Last Supper is nothing more than Christ's liturgical offering of the Passion, Fr. De la Taille draws an argument from the parallel between the Supper and the Mass as deduced from the definition of the Council of Trent. Apropos of this, he reasons as follows:

"Concilium aliquam adseruit unitatem inter missam et crucem his verbis: 'Una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa.' Quamquam scilicet sacrificia multiplicantur multiplicatis oblationibus, tamen inter crucem et missam servatur vera quaedam unitas ratione hostiae quae offertur . . . Jam vero ex missa retro ad coenam argumentari fas est. Si enim in missa Christus offertur ut immolatus in cruce, debuit in coena offerri ut in cruce immolandus. Si nos offerimus mortem Christi ante actam, debuit Christus (ut nos contendimus) offerre suam mortem imminensem. Nequit unum in missa praedicari, nisi et alterum quoad coenam concludatur. Nisi igitur nobiscum sentias in coena, minus videberis Concilio quoad missam consentire."⁶⁹

In a footnote he further says:

"Sed (rursus dico) haec nostra illatio pro tanto valere existimanda est, pro quanto Synodus acceptatione stricta vocabuli *oblatio* usa esse censebitur. Quod si latam et vagam fuisse acceptationem opinaberis, utique effugies nostram conclusionem. At ipse videas sitne tuta satis ista sermonis Tridentini exegesis minus literalis. Et praesertim caveas ne strictiorem, semel a te desertam, nobis unquam opponas."⁷⁰

Therefore, he admits that the strength of his argument rests or falls accordingly as we interpret the word *obtulit*, which, he maintains, was used by the Council in the strict, and not in the broad sense. Moreover, since we are accorded the personal option of choosing the sense which was adopted by Trent and ultimately promulgated in its definition, we unhesitatingly and unreservedly assert that it is well nigh impossible to accept the author's strict

⁶⁹ *M. F.*, p. 115.

⁷⁰ *M. F.*, *Ibid.*, n. 3.

interpretation of *oblatio* as employed by this council. Nor do we fear that by doing so, we run the risk of disagreeing with the council; on the contrary, we are of the opinion that our course of action brings us into complete harmony with it. Our reason for this is manifest; for, from what little we have seen of the sacrificial terminology employed in the preliminary conciliar debates and discussions in which the recognition of the Supper as a true sacrifice was controverted, we can come to but one conclusion, namely, that the gratuitous limitation of the word *oblatio* is not only not warranted, but on the contrary, is positively excluded.

In another note the author points out the serious difficulty which could be launched against his conclusion. He has reference to the Tridentine decision which reads as follows:

“Etsi semel (Christus) se ipsum in ara crucis morte intercedente Deo Patri oblaturus erat, ut aeternam illic redemptionem operaretur, . . . tamen in coena novissima . . . sacerdotem secundum Melchisedech se in aeternum declarans, corpus et sanguinem suum sub speciebus panis et vini Deo Patri obtulit.”⁷¹

From this wording of Trent, he rightly observes, it might be argued as follows:

“Tridentinum oggerit nobis quoddam sacrificium in cruce agendum; cui opponit per particulas adverstativas (*etsi . . . tamen*) sacrificium illud quod praecessit in coena. Ergo duo sacrificia proponit, non unum. Etenim si alterum NON OBSTANTE altero Christus dicitur fecisse, certe non sunt illa duo unum: quae si unum essent, neutrum sine altero fieri posset, nec proinde daretur locus particulae adversativae, sed potius consecutivae, *cum* vel *quia*; ut puta: quia sacrificium facturus erat in cruce, ideo litavit in coena; minime autem: quamvis sacrificaturus in cruce, tamen etiam in coena voluit sacrificare. Ergo Concilium Tridentinum omnino docet duo sacrificia Christi.”⁷²

Indeed, such is precisely the case, if we examine the grammatical construction of this sentence and recall to mind what the general opinion of the Fathers was, with regard to the sacrificial character of the Last Supper. Its obvious and literal sense, therefore, can only be, that outwardly, or to all appearances, there are two sacrifices; one on the Cross, *and* another in the Supper ('etsi in ara crucis oblaturus erat, in coena novissima . . . relinqueret sacri-

⁷¹ Conc. Trid., Sess. XXII, cap. I.

⁷² *M. F.*, p. 116, n. I.

ficium'). This is quite evident from the use of the two adversative particles, *etsi* and *tamen*. *Etsi*, for instance, is only used in contrast to something which is, or which seems to be, in opposition to that which is subsequently stated by its correlative particle *tamen*. In the present case, the Council places before us the bloody Sacrifice of the Cross, to which it opposes the unbloody sacrifice that preceded it in the Last Supper. Outwardly, then, there were two sacrifices, not two acts of one and the same sacrifice; for if a meaning other than this were intended, it would have been absurd to have used the particles *etsi* and *tamen* instead of the consecutive particles *cum* and *quia*, which of their very nature, are best suited to this purpose. It can not, therefore, be reasonably expected, that under the *tamen* clause, there would be included anything which was to be related to its antecedent as to its part, or connatural prelude or necessary prerequisite. Thus, for example, Cardinal Billot tells us, one would not say: '*Etsi domum aedificaturus, ejus tamen fundamenta jeci*'; or, '*Etsi mox profecturus sum, amicis tamen valedixi*.'⁷³ Moreover, it might be further reasoned that if the Council recognized in the *oblation* of the Last Supper, only an incipient or constituent part of the Sacrifice of Calvary, then we might expect its members to have formulated a definition of the following tenor: 'Is igitur Deus et Dominus noster, *cum* (vel *quia* praecise *quia*, se ipsum in ara crucis morte intercedente immolaturus erat ut aeternam illic redemptionem operaretur, in coena novissima, qua nocte tradebatur, corpus et sanguinem suum ad hanc ipsam crucis immolationem obtulit ac destinavit, ac semel immolata apostolis ut offerrent praecepit, etc.'⁷⁴ But the Council expressed itself otherwise, and we must accept the grammatical and obvious sense, which is: "Although (*etsi*) Christ was going to sacrifice (*oblaturus*) on the Cross (in a bloody manner), nevertheless (*tamen*), He sacrificed (*obtulit*) in the Supper (in an unbloody manner, under the species of bread and wine). The same verb *offerre* is used in both clauses, and if in the first, it means 'to sacrifice' or 'to enact a sacrifice,' then in the second we may rightly presume, or rather we must necessarily conclude that it is employed in the same sense, since there is nothing to indicate that another meaning should be attached to it. In point of fact, we may even venture to say that any other

⁷³ Billot, *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, I, p. 603, Rome, 1924.

⁷⁴ Billot, *o. c.*, *Ibid.*

interpretation would be entirely arbitrary and unwarranted. Consequently, the oblation of the Last Supper can not be considered an essential or integral part of the Sacrifice of the Cross, but must be regarded as an oblation (taken in the broad sense—verified in its entirety. It was, as Trent makes clear, the anterior representation of that bloody sacrifice which would take place but once, but which was destined thereafter to be perpetuated forevermore by the retrospective, memorial oblation of the Mass. Nowhere does the Council insinuate that there is any difference between the Eucharistic Sacrifice as offered by Christ at the Last Supper and as offered by priests in the Mass. The Last Supper, therefore, even in the mind of Trent, must be considered the first Mass, since it is its prototype.

In seeking a way out of the above difficulty, Fr. De la Taille offers three considerations by which he tries satisfactorily to justify his contention. Thus he says:

“Sed isti conclusioni obstant praeprimis testimonia evidentissima, quibus constat non solum alienum fuisse a mente Concilii ut quicquam in hac re decerneret, sed etiam auctorum decreti praecipuorum mentem fuisse ut ipsa unitate singulari sacrificii dominici decretum vel maxime verificaretur.”⁷⁵

In his opinion, it would seem that even though it was foreign to the mind of the Council to decide the question of the unity or duality of the New Testament Sacrifice, still the decree was formulated so as implicitly to uphold the theory of unity. But we have already shown that the question which was being discussed did not revolve around the unity of Christ's sacrifice, but rather concerned the Last Supper, in an effort to determine whether this was a sacrifice at all. In the course of the conciliar deliberations, the vast majority expressed the desire that it be explicitly declared in the definition that Christ offered (i. e., enacted) sacrifice at the Last Supper. Over one hundred and twenty-five favored this opinion. In expressing their views on the subject, all practically use the same terminology: ‘*Declaretur quod Christus in coena obtulit*’; ‘*dicatur Christum in coena obtulisse*,’ etc.⁷⁶ A few even use the words *sacrificare* and *immolare*⁷⁷ in the same sense as those who used *offerre*; a fact which makes it doubly certain that *offerre* must have been used in the broad sense only, and would

⁷⁵ *M. F.*, p. 116, n. I.

⁷⁶ Cf. Theiner, *o. c.*, II, pp. 76–96.

⁷⁷ Among these we might mention Segobicensis, Auriensis, Legionensis, Laynes, Clodiensis, Cortonensis.—Cf. Theiner, *o. c.*, II, pp. 80, 87, 89, 91, 95.

therefore prove that it was not the intention of the Fathers to consider the Supper a mere liturgical offering to an immolation (mactation), but rather a complete sacrifice in itself. The comparatively small number of those opposed to the Supper being recognized as a true sacrifice likewise use similar terminology: '*Non fiat mentio quod Christus obtulerit in coena*'; '*Christus autem in coena non obtulit*.'⁷⁸

Therefore, since the majority of the Fathers were manifestly in favor of recognizing the Supper as a sacrifice,⁷⁹ and indeed as a propitiatory sacrifice, without however, derogating from the efficacy of the Cross, it is not to be wondered at that the decree was so worded as to make it especially favorable to what was the common opinion among them, namely, that Christ offered a complete sacrifice not only on the Cross, but also at the Last Supper, of which the Mass is the continuation or repetition by the Apostles and their successors in the priesthood.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ A few of these Bishops were: Bracharensis, Brugnatensis, Lancianensis, Vegliensis, Mutinensis, Larinensis, Colubriensis.—Cf. Theiner *o. c.*, II, pp. 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 86, 92.

⁷⁹ Bishop MacDonald erroneously asserts that there were only "a few who maintained that there was a complete sacrifice in the Supper."—*Am. Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, p. 344. In Theiner, we read that Sipontinus rejected the common opinion of all, (with the exception of Bituntinus), namely, that at the Last Supper Christ offered Himself. Thus: "SIPONTINUS: . . . Improbavit autem communem omnium (excepto Bituntino) opinionem, videlicet quod Christus obtulerit in coena. Et ita defendit partem illam, quod Christus non obtulerit in coena."—*O. c.*, I. p. 645. This is proof enough to demonstrate that the Fathers must have held that the Last Supper was a true sacrifice, since *offerre* in the sense used by them, designates a full and complete sacrifice.

⁸⁰ The text which was ultimately adopted with almost absolute unanimity and solemnly promulgated at the beginning of the twenty-second Session, the seventeenth of September, 1562, reads: "In coena novissima, qua nocte tradebatur corpus et sanguinem suum sub speciebus panis, et vini Deo Patri obtulit." Nine Fathers failed to approve this definition, and two of these opposed it particularly because it mentions Christ's oblation at the Last Supper. Thus: "GRANATENSIS: . . . Non item placet definiri Christum in coena se obtulisse, cum sancti doctores asseverent illum semel hoc fecisse."—Theiner, *o. c.*, II, p. 130. "VEGLIENSIS: . . . Non placet verbum in doctrina positum, quo dicitur Christum in coena obtulisse; tum quia in sensu quo adductum videtur, non consonat dictis Apostolis; tum etiam quia non declaratur qua specie sacrificii: unde videtur deceptivum, et non decens; ideo aut declaretur, aut tollatur."—*Ibid.*, p. 131.

Apropos of the above draft of the decree, Bishop MacDonald remarks: "In the first draft of the decrees there was no mention of the fact that Christ offered Himself in the Supper. The Council ordered it to be added. Sarpi says that no fewer than twenty-three prelates objected to the clause that our Lord offered Himself in the Supper, and that others were of the opinion that this should no be affirmed even if it were true. In the end it was affirmed in set terms. But both Pallavicini and Waterworth inform us, that it was agreed no mention should be made of the nature of that offering. . . . This fact is to be carefully kept in mind, lest any one should presume to gather from the wording of the decrees that the Supper was a complete sacrifice, or that it was other than the sacrifice of the Cross."—*Am. Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, p. 344.

In his second answer to the difficulty, Fr. De la Taille says:

"Secundo, facile unitatem minime auferre locum particulae adversativae Nam quoniam unum fuit sacrificium cum cruce in coena, tamen poterat omnino sine coena crux habere rationem sacrificii, accedente scilicet alio quopiam ritu liturgico. *Etsi* igitur crucis sacrificium Christus potuit complere sine coena, *tamen* voluit melchisedecium esse ex coena."⁸¹

But once again, we repeat, that the question of unity was not the issue to be explained by Trent. The assertion, therefore, that by the use of the two particles, the Council meant to insinuate that Christ could have completed the Sacrifice of the Cross, independently of the Supper, but that nevertheless, He willed that His sacrifice should be according to the order of Melchisedech, is gratuitous, to say the least, being unsupported by either the tenor, or the grammatical construction of the declaration itself. The Council says: 'although He was going to offer' (*etsi . . . oblaturus erat*); not 'although He could have offered' (*etsi . . . obtulisset*).

In his third consideration, which he regards as the most cogent, we read:

"Tertio, ut potissimum, attendendus est scopus Concilii; qui fuit ut auferretur error protestantium. Protestantes enim omnes ex veritate sacrificii dominici, complexive accepta, impetebant sacrificium eucharistiae. Quibus occurrit Concilium fidei puncta adserens. Primo, unum quantum ad coenam; scilicet, *etsi* omnino sacrificium verissimum quoddam crux est (quod omnes credimus), *tamen* nihilominus credendum est Christum, utpote sacerdotem secundum ordinem Melchisedech, voluisse etiam ut ipsa coena esset sacrificium (idemne numero an alterum non dicit). Secundo vero, quantum ad missam: Christus per verba *Hoc facite* INSTITUIT sacrificium incruentum, commemorativum suae mortis, et RELIQUIT Ecclesiae suae usque ad fines saeculorum frequentandum. Praeter illa verba duo puncta fidei, necessario tenenda, nihil Concilium in exordio illo capitis I proposuit: Sufficiebant enim ad excludendum errorem haereticorum."⁸²

But even granted that it was the Council's intent to counteract the Protestant tendency to deny the sacrificial character of the Mass, the above statement is by no means an adequate or satisfactory explanation of how the oneness of the sacrifice could still be maintained from the Council's actual wording of the decree. It is, on the other hand, an admission, as Fr. De la Taille himself must admit, that the Supper is a sacrifice. Such being the case, it can

⁸¹ *M. F.*, p. 116, n. I.

⁸² *M. F.*, *Ibid.*

not be logically conceived as a component part of the Sacrifice of Calvary, that is, as its liturgical prerequisite.

Moreover, it is also clear from the very words of the decree, that outwardly there are two distinct sacrifices mentioned here: "*una enim eademque est hostia, idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit, sola offerendi ratione diversa.*"⁸³ There are, then, two oblations or offerings (sacrifices); one bloody (on the Cross), and the other unbloody (in the Mass, and *a fortiori*, at the Last Supper), for the Council immediately subjoins: "*cujus quidem oblationis cruentae . . . fructus per hanc incruentam etc.*"

But as might be expected, Fr. De la Taille also has his own singular interpretation of this phrase '*sola offerendi ratione diversa.*' Apropos of this, he writes:

"Inter nostram oblationem et illa Christi intercedit hoc discrimen, quod nostra nulla ex parte est cruenta, cruenta fuit in cruce oblatio Christi, illo modo quo dictus est. Nec tamen alia fuit oblatio in cruce, alia in coena; sed una eademque numero; et hoc propter indentitatem sacerdotis et hostiae . . . Praetera obtulit in coena Christus sine nobis; nunc autem in missa, per nos: hincque rursus diversa est ratione offerendi."⁸⁴

His conclusion, therefore, is, that the liturgical oblation (offering) in the Mass is different from that of Calvary. But this assertion appears to be a mere distinction without a difference, since the Last Supper is professedly maintained to have been the liturgical oblation of Calvary, and as such perseveres throughout all eternity and therefore also in the Mass, making it identically the same oblation in the Mass as that which was offered on the Cross. Hence, if the oblation of the Mass is the same as that of Calvary, we can not see how he can logically predicate a difference between the two. He does, however, go on to say, that according to the Council, the oblation in the Mass differs from that of Christ's on Calvary by reason of the 'Offerer,' namely, that in the former it is the priest who offers, while in the latter, it was Christ Who offered. But this deduction does not at all follow from the wording or context of the Tridentine decree, for grammatically and otherwise, the phrase '*sola offerendi ratione diversa,*' can not be taken as a qualification of the 'Offerer,' as this point was clearly settled in the clause: '*Idem nunc offerens sacerdotum ministerio, qui se ipsum tunc in cruce obtulit,*' It simply qualifies the manner

⁸³ Conc., Trid., Sess. XXII, cap. 2. (Denz., n. 938)

⁸⁴ *M. F.*, p. 103.

of oblation of Christ's sacrifice, since the Council had previously pronounced it different by distinguishing the one as bloody, and the other as unbloody (*incrueute immolatur* (unbloody) *in ara crucis obtulit* (bloody). We know that on Calvary, Christ offered Himself in His own person, and we likewise are aware of the fact, that in the Mass He is assisted outwardly by His priests. But this alone does not constitute the difference between the two modes of sacrifice; the difference is such that it visibly affects the oblation of Christ. For this reason the Council, in unequivocal terms, tells us, that it is Christ Who offers Himself in the Mass in a different way from the manner in which He offered Himself on the Cross; not that there is merely a distinction between the oblation of Christ and the oblation of a priest in Mass.

Moreover, if 'oblation' is to be taken in the strict sense signifying that the Supper is the liturgical oblation, then we can not see how the Supper can be *rightly* called a *bloody oblation*. Fr. De la Taille, however, is quite insistent that it can, for he says distinctly:

"Quamquam enim non adscripsit Christo Concilium actionem ullam cruentem (omnis actio cruenta fuit peracta a Judaeis), nec proinde ullum liturgicum ritum perhibet a nostro sacerdote esse usurpatum: cruentum (quod utique ut Scripturae ita Patribus et Doctoribus omnibus repugnaret), tamen etiam in cruce cum voluntarie se ostendi Christus per sentire dolores et gustare mortem, eo ipso oblationem suam solemnem, quam incrueute in coena celebraret, cruore jam suae passionis veluti subsignat et confirmat, purpurat atque coronat."⁸⁵ "Thus Christ's offering was a bloody one, not only in so far as He offered Himself to a bloody immolation, but also for as much as by the shedding of His blood he was pursuing effectively the oblation which He had initiated in the unbloody rite of the Cenacle."⁸⁶

But in a footnote he observes that the above conclusion is the logical consequence of the view he takes of the Council's employment of the word *offerre*. He says:

"Haec valet explicatio sermonis Tridentini, pro quanto censetur Concilium accepisse *oblationem* sensu stricto, et integra *sacrificatione*. Sin autem malueris Tridentinum usum esse acceptione minus stricta, adeo ut *offerre* sit idem ac *peragere sacrificium* ("cruentum illud in cruce peragendum"; "sacrificii in cruce peracti"; "sacrificio in cruce peracto"), tunc utique locus nostrae Concilii explicationi jam non est. . . Manet tamen vera, non solum doctrina quam enuntiamus, sed

⁸⁵ *M. F.*, p. 115.

⁸⁶ *Reply*, p. 29.

etiam locutionis ipsius quam exponebamus acceptio strictior."⁸⁷

Here we have a frank acknowledgment of the weakness of his position. He leaves the choice of the broad or strict sense to the reader, just as though it were a matter of personal option.⁸⁸ In reality, however, no such arbitrary choice can be made. The exegetical truth of the declaration can not be regarded so lightly, since on the difference between the two respective interpretations rests the ultimate acceptance or rejection of this theory on the basis of the Council's doctrinal teaching. The words, naturally enough, were used exclusively in one or the other sense, for it is not at all reasonable to suppose that they were employed in both senses, without any indication having been given of their promiscuous application. But it has already been sufficiently demonstrated that the Tridentine Fathers, without exception, made use of *oblato* and *offerre*, in the broad sense. For this reason we must accept the terms in that sense, if we intend to interpret their mind correctly.

Therefore, from the wording of the declaration, as well as from its underlying intention, we may unhesitatingly conclude that, according to Trent, Christ is sacrificed in a bloody manner on the Cross, whereas in the Supper and consequently in the Mass, He is sacrificed in an unbloody manner. To accept the strict sense of the term *offerre* would engender insurmountable difficulties, for there is no apparent reason why the Council should refer to the Supper as a bloody oblation, and to the Mass as unbloody. Were such really the case, it would follow that the oblation in the Mass would still be bloody, which is of course contrary to what the

⁸⁷ *M. F.*, p. 103, n. I. In *Reply* p. 31, he says in addition: "Should however the supposition prove untrue, that is, should the Council have used the word *oblato* in a vaguer sense, as equivalent to sacrifice, or to any essential part of a sacrifice, then my interpretation would no longer hold good exegetically; yet it would remain true doctrinally: that is, if the Council did not assert a formal oblation on the Cross, I would still regard a formal oblation on the Cross as being the truth of fact. In the supposition therefore of a strict and technical sense of the decree, I maintain that my reading of it has a twofold truth: exegetical and doctrinal. In the opposite case, I could not claim for that reading of the Decree exegetical truth; but still I would maintain the doctrinal truth of its import."

⁸⁸ In replying to a criticism by Fr. Ryan on this point, Fr. De la Taille reiterates what we have already noted concerning his view of the exegetical truth of the Council's declaration. To him, it seems to be a matter of little or no consequence at all, for he says: "The exegetical truth of the interpretation I leave willingly for others to decide. I do not feel particularly concerned in it. I stand where I stand; but let others, if they care, make light of my tutiorism, and on their responsibility choose a broader interpretation: they will not find me in their way." *Irish Eccl. Record*, August, 1925, p. 133.—Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 131.

Council has in mind. Fr. De la Taille's interpretation must therefore be rejected as entirely unjustifiable and contrary to self-evident facts. It is neither sanctioned by the writings of the sacred authors, nor may it be inferred from the decrees of Trent. On the contrary, we have seen that the traditional testimonies coupled with the numerous conciliar discourses and subsequent definitions alleged in proof of this theory, directly militate against the conception of the Supper as a mere component part of a whole sacrifice, and not as a full and complete sacrifice in itself. According to Tridentine mentality, the Last Supper was a complete sacrificial act, representative by anticipation, of that other complete act, namely, the bloody Sacrifice of the Cross. Any other conclusion besides this, seems untraditional, and, in point of fact, unfounded.

ARTICLE IV

ANALOGOUS ARGUMENT FROM THE SACRAMENTS

As a further corroboration of our contention that it was possible for the Last Supper to have been a full and complete sacrifice in itself, we shall formulate what to us appears as a perfectly valid theological argument drawn from an analogy to the sacraments. The sacraments, as we know, draw their efficacy from Christ's Passion. But was the efficacy of those that were actually administered before the death of Christ, perchance suspended till after the Crucifixion? If not, then there appears no reason in the world why the Last Supper could not have been truly a full and complete sacrifice enacted then and there. Let us therefore briefly examine the facts and from them draw our conclusions.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ Fr. De la Taille will not admit this analogy because a "sacrament of itself means an action of God, as such, towards man; sacrifice on the contrary, a pleading of man, as such, with God. That God in his *sanctifying action*, whether in regard of the just of the Old Testament, or of the Blessed Virgin, or of Christ's followers in Christ's lifetime, should take into account what is already present in His intention and mind, is only natural. That man, in working out *propitiation*, in *placating* God, should have the same force in hand with or without the afflictive work, with or without the atoning death to which the victim had been pledged; in other words, through a sacrifice that yields what it vows, or that stops short of it, and therefore fails to be thorough: is not natural. Such a course seems hardly in keeping with the human views of reparation and satisfaction, that look for an expression in sacrifice. The full reality of sacrifice requires actual victimhood; no mere pretence will do."—*Irish Eccl. Record*, August, 1925, p. 133 n. 4. No one, it is true, will gainsay that a "sacrament of itself means an action of God, as such, towards man." But when it is said that sacrifice is a "pleading of man, as such, with God," we must distinguish between a sacrifice that is offered by mortal man and one that is offered by a God-man. In the former case we find no objection to Fr. De la Taille's statement, but in the latter case we can not see how it is verified therein. On the Cross, it was *Christ* who offered *Himself*, not man; therefore, in this instance, we can not rightly speak of sacrifice as a "pleading of man, as such with God." It is a pleading of Christ, the God-man, to the Triune God, in behalf of man.

First of all, it is most probable that the Apostles were baptized before the Passion had actually taken place.⁹⁰ Furthermore, they had even received the Sacrament of the Eucharist at the Last Supper, for since what was denoted by the words of Christ was really present under the sacramental species of bread and wine, the Apostles must have necessarily received the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It must be determined, therefore, whether in this case, or in the case of baptism, the efficacy and grace of these sacraments were suspended until after the Passion had actually taken place. To us it seems as though these sacraments were truly efficacious as soon as they were instituted and conferred, and therefore did not necessarily remain suspended until after the Passion.⁹¹

In the Sacrament of Baptism, the character must have been impressed on the souls of those who received the sacrament, for we read nowhere that the Apostles were ever rebaptized. In fact, since they received the sacraments of Holy Eucharist and Sacred Orders before the Passion, we know that the sacraments were validly conferred in virtue of Baptism. The only difficulty, then, concerns their efficacy; whether or not they were truly efficacious before the Passion had actually transpired in time.⁹²

To this we answer, that all the sacraments of the New Law draw their efficacy from the Passion of Christ, not by an external act, represented in the effect, but by an interior act of Christ. In

⁹⁰ Billuart reasons as follows: "Baptismus est necessarius ad aliorum sacramentorum receptionem, utpote eorum janua: atqui apostoli in ultima coena receperunt Eucharistiam, et secundum Trid. sess. 21, cap. I, Ordinem sacerdotalem: ergo erant baptizati."—*Tractatus de Baptismo*, diss. I. Art. II, 1, Prob. 2.

⁹¹ In the Tridentine conciliar discussions this was stoutly asserted by not a few of the Fathers, and was even the basis of their argument that the Last Supper was also a true, complete expiatory sacrifice. Thus for instance Justinopolitanus said: "Sicut sacramenta instituta sunt ante passionem, et vim nihilominus habent ex passione, ita illud in coena (i. e. sacrifice) est idem cum illo crucis, et vim ab eo habet."—Theiner, *o. c.*, II, p. 80.

⁹² In an answer to the objection that Baptism was not instituted before Christ's Passion, Billuart denies it, saying: "Alioquin nec Eucharistia nec Ordo instituta sunt ante passionem Christi. Igitur ante passionem Christ, completam scilicet, Baptismus habebat efficaciam ab ipsa passione, in quantum eam figurabat; aliter tamen quam sacramenta veteris legis; nam haec erant tantum figurae; Baptismus autem virtutem intrinsecam habebat justificandi a Christo tunc existente, qui jam passionem acceptaverat et inchoaverat multa patiundo pro salute nostra." *Loc. cit.* Obj. I. Cf. also St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III q. LXXV, a. VII ad 3. To prove that the Last Supper was an expiatory sacrifice *Legionensis* reasoned as follows: "Omnes Christi actiones expiatoriae erant, et valoris infiniti. Et sicuti eucharistia data apostolis a Christo dedit eis gratiam; uti etiam baptismus discipulorum ante Christi mortem, cum a Christo fuisset institutus: ita et Christi oblatio in coena, quae infiniti valoris fuit et expiatoria."—Cf. Theiner, *o. c.*, II, p. 89.

other words, they receive their efficacy from the Passion as something already accomplished, not externally, but internally. Christ, from the moment of His conception, had the merit of the Passion in so far as He accepted it and offered it to God, the Father.⁹³ In this interior acceptance of His Passion consists the principal reason of merit. Before His conception, that Passion was not revealed as accomplished or received by God, for then it was precisely in the divine foreknowledge and was not externalized by any real act of Christ in time. In the divine foreknowledge, God had foreseen and accepted this Passion, but since the theandric Christ did not as yet exist in reality, He could not by any real act offer it to God. After His conception, Christ did, and could offer it by accepting it. Speaking humanly and by way of analogy, a person desires the Sacrament of Penance, but actually does not receive it because of some external circumstance that serves as a barrier. Yet, as long as he accepts this as a means to salvation and is willing to receive it, if possible, then this reception *in voto* is a means of forgiveness to him. With Christ nothing could ever frustrate the accomplishment of the Passion.

An example of the application of the Passion of Christ before it actually took place is the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Mother. Christ did not even exist at the time of her conception; yet it is a dogma of faith that Mary was preserved from sin even before the moment of conception. Hers was not a presanctification in the womb of her mother as that of St. John the Baptist; nor was she ever for a moment under the dominion of the devil. This immaculate preservation of the Blessed Mother from the sin of Adam is due to the application of the merits of Christ, for without His meritorious intervention, even this sole exception could not have been possible. If, therefore, in this case, by a special prerogative, it was possible to apply the merits of the Passion before their actual existence and acceptance by Christ in time, then, *a fortiori*, the efficacy of the sacraments, which were instituted before the Passion actually transpired, could have likewise

⁹³ Apropos of this, *Campaniensis* argued as follows in the conciliar discussions of Trent: "Christus etiam a principio conceptionis suae satisfecit pro peccatis, prout omnes actiones fuerunt satisfactoriae, licet per mortem in cruce fuissent consummatae; multis enim modis Christus passus est ante passionem crucis, et meritorie passus est pro peccatis nostris. Ita etiam in coena dolore contritionis Christus in ejus oblatione passus est, passus autem est meritorie: ergo ejus oblatio fuit expiatoria et redemptoria: est igitur una et eadem oblatio crucis."—Cf. Theiner, *o. c.*, p. 86.

been applied before the Passion, since this had already been accepted by Christ in time. Cornelius À Lapide says on this point: "Before His death Christ remitted sins to the paralytic, and also to Mary Magdalene, and filled her with the spirit of charity: and this by His word only, without a sacrament. For this forgiveness derived its justifying power from the merits of Christ both present and to come: and had offered Himself to God the Father to be a victim for the salvation of men. Wherefore, as the Eucharist instituted before the death of Christ sanctified the Apostles, so also did Baptism."⁹⁴

We might also add the example of the institution of the Sacrament of Penance. Christ said to the Apostles: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost." Afterwards He tells them to await the coming of the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost came on Pentecost in a visible form. Did the Apostles actually receive the Holy Ghost or was the effect of this sacrament suspended until the Holy Ghost came in visible form? The answer seems to be, according to exegetes, that they then actually received the Holy Ghost for the special function entrusted to them. On Pentecost the Spirit came visibly with the fulness of all grace, and thus was established the beginning of the reign of the Holy Ghost and His Kingdom on earth. His coming on the Church's first birthday by no means destroys the fact that the Apostles received the Spirit in Baptism, in the Eucharist, and in Orders. Christ told them to receive His Body, and also to receive the Holy Ghost, in such clear terms that there can not be any doubt as to the literalness of His words and hence, what He said, actually took place and was not necessarily suspended until His death or until the coming of the Holy Ghost on Pentecost. Mary had the fulness of the Holy Ghost from her conception; yet the Mother of Jesus was with the Apostles on Pentecost and visibly received the Holy Ghost as an outward sign of Him Whom she fully possessed within.

Hence, we can hold that before the Passion, the sacraments produced their grace, *ex opere operato*, and were not suspended until after the Passion of Christ in time. The objection that one dying before the Passion could not enter Heaven because as yet Christ had not triumphed is of no avail, for we are considering the suspension of individual sanctification by the sacraments, insti-

⁹⁴ *The Great Commentary of Cornelius À Lapide*, trans. by T. W. Mossman, pp. 117, 118, London, 1887.

tuted before the Passion, and not of the opening of the gates of Heaven and the glorious entry of Christ therein.

From this analogy to the sacraments we may therefore draw the following perfectly valid theological conclusion with regard to the Last Supper; namely, that it was a true, complete propitiatory sacrifice in virtue of Christ's bloody redemptive sacrifice which it represented in an anticipatory and unbloody manner.

CHAPTER III

REFUTATIONS AND OBJECTIONS

ARTICLE I

'FIRST OBJECTION: CALVARY SUPEREROGATORY

Our chief contention has been that the Last Supper was a full and complete sacrifice in itself. This belief, we have seen, is not only consonant with the Tradition of the Church, but was openly professed by the vast majority of the Tridentine Fathers when the discussion of the Eucharistic Sacrifice centered round this point. It was not, however, the unanimous opinion of all the Fathers, a few of whom even gave reasons why in their opinion this could not have possibly been the case. Thus for instance, of Bituntinus, we read: "Quoad doctrinam improbavit quod dicitur Christum in coena obtulisse seipsum, quia alias gratis mortuus esset, quia illud suffecisset ad reconciliandum nos Deo . . . Ergo non sacrificavit Christus in coena, sed in cruce tantum."¹ In our own day, Bishop MacDonald voices identically the same objection when he writes: "If the Last Supper had been a finished sacrifice, it would have offered to God a satisfaction for sin that would have been infinite. It would therefore have made ample satisfaction for the sins of the world, and so would have "blotted out the handwriting of the decree that was against us." But it is of faith that it was on the Cross that this was done."² This view, moreover, finds expression in Fr. De la Taille's *Mysterium Fidei*, where he attempts to vindicate the numerical unity of Christ's sacrifice. God, we are told, bound together the Supper and the Cross to constitute the one complete sacrifice of Christ.³ This is of vital importance, we are further told, for if Christ had offered in the Supper a sacrifice numerically distinct from that of the Passion, He would already before the Passion, have redeemed the human

¹ Cf. Theiner o. c., I, p. 640.

² Cf. *American Eccl. Review*, April, 1926, p. 349.

³ Cf. *M. F.*, p. 105.

race.⁴ In other words, the sacrifice of the Supper, if complete, would derogate from the Sacrifice of the Cross, in which case Christ's death would have been supererogatory.

This objection would, we readily admit, have weight and therefore be valid, if we held that the Last Supper was, *de facto*, the sacrifice by which the human race was redeemed and the act whereby superabundant satisfaction was made for the sins of the human race. This, however, is not claimed; nor is it at all necessary to deduce from our standpoint that the Supper is the redemptive cause of our salvation. Moreover, it does not in any way logically follow from the fact that the Last Supper is a true and complete sacrifice that thereby the Sacrifice of the Cross automatically becomes a supererogatory work, and is subsequently derogated from, by the fact of the completeness of the sacrificial character of the Last Supper.

Not only the Last Supper, but all the actions of Christ were of simply (*simpliciter*) infinite value *in actu primo*, and therefore sufficient for strict (*de condigno*) and superabundant satisfaction.⁵ Nevertheless, despite the fact that His works were of infinite value *in actu primo*, or subjectively, we must look to the enormity of the offense and the manner in which Christ wished to delete it, and from this, determine what particular act has such value *in actu secundo*, or objectively. In order to understand this correctly, we must go back to the divine mind, to the beginning, for God foresaw the fall of man from all eternity and accepted the sacrifice of His Son from all eternity. There is no time in God, neither past

⁴ Cf. *O. c.*, pp. 82, 113, n. 3.

⁵ This fact was particularly emphasized by the Tridentine Fathers to prove that even if the Last Supper be recognized as a true and complete sacrifice, it would not mean that Christ's death was necessarily supererogatory. Thus: "CAMPANIENSIS: . . . Christus etiam a principio conceptionis suae satisfecit pro peccatis, prout omnes ejus actiones fuerunt satisfactoriae, licet per mortem in cruce fuissent consummatae: multis enim modis Christus passus est ante passionem crucis, et meritorie passus est pro peccatis nostris. Ita etiam in coena dolore contritionis Christus in ejus oblatione passus est: passus autem est meritorie: ergo ejus oblatio fuit expiatoria et redemptoria."—Theiner, *o. c.*, 1, p. 86. "LERIENSIS: . . . Et quemadmodum omnes doctores tenet, Christum meruisse in primo instanti saue conceptionis nostram redemptionem, sed non propterea superfluum fuisse ejus vitam et passionem, ut B. Thomas declarat: sic in oblatione coenae et crucis. Praeterea passio Christi habuit rationem meriti satisfactionis et sacrificii, ut B. Thomas, p. III, qu. 8, art. 2 et 3; et non praeterea delentur praecedentia Christi merita et satisfactiones. Nam Christus in tota ejus (sic) vita meruit et satisfecit pro peccatis nostris: neque ea de causa delentur merita passionis in cruce et ejus satisfactionis, ut in eodem loco declarat B. Thomas."—*Ibid.*, p. 84.

nor future, but an everlasting present; hence, before the creation, before the fall, God foresaw in His creating and determining decrees that man would cast off the yoke of obedience and would eat of the tree, thereby making himself an enemy of God. If we can speak of anything simultaneous in the divine mind, then we can say that God, when He foresaw the fall of man, accepted the offering of His Son, namely, to redeem the human race and re-establish man in the friendship of God. Hence, foreseen from all eternity, with the knowledge by which God knows all future free acts, the offering of His Son to bear the sins and iniquities of the world was in the mind of God as if it had actually taken place. For this reason, on the very first pages of Scripture, we read of the promise of a Redeemer and the manner in which He should be born. Through the prophets we receive an idea of how He was to come, when, and in what manner he would suffer, in what sufferings he would die. The Passion and death of Christ, was foretold centuries before, and this was accepted from all eternity as the crowning glory of the Son of the Father, for as Adam brought death into the world through sin, a death of the soul and the loss of sanctifying grace, so also was Christ to destroy this sin through His death and bring back again man's right to eternal life and eternal glory.

God could have accepted any satisfactory work of Christ, but, *de facto*, what was seen and decreed in His creating and determining decrees must necessarily transpire in time. It would have sufficed had He merely been born, or been hidden under the sacramental species; in fact, anyone of the meritorious acts performed during His life would have been sufficient for our redemption.⁶

From the Scriptures, we have seen that the death of Christ was to be the meritorious cause of our redemption. Isaias foretells how He was to be a castaway and die as a criminal. In the Gospels, we read, that "God gave His only-begotten Son." "He (Christ) offered Himself because He wished it." "Not My will

⁶ "Si loquamur de redemptione humani generis quantum ad quantitatem pretii, sic quaelibet passio Christi etiam sine morte suffecisset ad redemptionem humani generis propter infinitam dignitatem personae. Si autem loquamur ad deputationem pretii, sic dicendum est, quod non sunt deputatae ad redemptionem humani generis a Deo Patre et Christo aliae passionem Christi absque morte . . . Ideo humanum genus non est redemptum per aliam passionem Christi absque morte."—St. Thom. *Quodl.* 2, a. 2.—Cf. also his *Sum. Theol.*, II. q. 46. a. 3.

but Thine be done." "Christ became obedient unto death, even unto the death of the *cross*." His death on the Cross was the manner in which He wished to redeem us; it was that which was accepted by the Father, and indeed, was most acceptable to Him, for it was decreed from all eternity, foretold by the prophets, and was actually accomplished by Christ on Calvary. Hence, to the Sacrifice on the Cross is attributed our salvation; and in truth, instead of derogating from the other acts of His life, Calvary becomes the culmination of all the merit which is attributed to Him throughout His stay on earth. If, then, the propitiatory value of the cross does not derogate from the other meritorious acts of the life of Christ, then how can it be said that the other propitiatory or meritorious acts of His life detract from the Sacrifice of the Cross?

It was the will of the Father that an oblation for sin be made in a bloody manner; the obedience of Christ effected it so and His love wished it as well. "Greater love than all this no man hath, than that he lay down His life for a friend." The person of the theandric Christ was divine; but to the person we attribute merit or blame in virtue of the philosophic axiom '*actiones sunt suppositorum*.' Hence, if we say that Christ did not, or could not merit during His life and if we do not admit that the Cross was the culmination or perfection of His merit, then the person of Christ is disparaged. Admitting that Christ could and did merit during life, we might ask what was the value of that merit? The answer must be that it was infinite, for in Christ there was no human person; and attributing merit to the person of His divine nature, we must conclude that its value was infinite.

Nor is the Sacrifice of the Cross in any way lessened or obscured through the sacrifice of the Last Supper. We assert with those who oppose the sacrificial value of the Last Supper, that Christ did, *de facto*, accomplish our redemption on the Cross in a bloody manner. There, Christ, through the one complete Sacrifice of the Cross, merited our salvation and gained for us superabundant satisfaction. Although we admit that our redemption is especially ascribed to the Passion and death of Christ, our Lord, we also say that the other works of Christ, being of simple infinite value because of the dignity of Christ, were sufficient to satisfy the divine

justice but, *de facto*, did not.⁷ Moreover, if we keep in mind that a person can merit without satisfying, and again satisfy without meriting, the objection brought against the propitiatory value of the sacrifice of the Last Supper vanishes into the region of so many other futile difficulties. Christ did merit during life; all of His acts were sufficient for *de condigno* satisfaction, but due to the eternal decree of God they were not accepted as such. *In fieri*, or subjectively, He merited, but actually or objectively, He did not satisfy for our redemption. To the Sacrifice of the Cross was reserved the consummation of the work of redemption, and to it our salvation is actually ascribed.*

The redemptive Sacrifice on the Cross, therefore, in no way detracted from the infinite value of the Supper. Neither does the sacrifice of the Supper derogate in any way from the satisfactory

⁷ This point was brought out clearly by not a few of the Fathers of the Council of Trent who argued for the recognition of the Last Supper as a complete sacrifice in itself. Thus: "SEGOBICENSIS: . . . Licet omnes Christi labores sufficissent ad redemptionem nostram, tamen Christus decreverat eam consummare in cruce: praeterea omnia ad eam ordinabantur."—Theiner, *o. c.*, I, p. 87. "DON JACOBUS LAYNÈS: . . . Et omnes actus Christi in ejus vita fuerunt expiatorii et redemptorii, quos omnes in nostram salutem operatus est, et denique consummavit omnia in cruce: et cum dicitur, passio Christi nos redemit, passio Christi comprehendit omnes actus Christi, qui ea omnia eadem charitate fecit, quae tamen in cruce magis cognoscitur . . . Est igitur crux consummatio omnium Christi passionum, et uti epilogus omnes passiones continebat."—*Ibid.*, I, p. 96. "ASTURICENSIS: . . . Et Christus obtulit in coena expiatorie; neque propterea tunc facta est redemptio mundi, quia omnes Christi actiones meruerunt, tamen omnia ad crucem ordinavit."—*Ibid.*, I, p. 85. "AQUENSIS . . . An autem Christus obtulerit in coena; ipse tenet se obtulisse in sacrificium propitiatorium et redemptorium; sed non sortitum est effectum nisi post Christi mortem."—*Ibid.*, I, p. 90. "NEMAUSENSIS . . . Explicetur Christum se obtulisse in coena propitiatorie . . . Non autem consummatur expiatio, quae solae (sic) oblationi crucis tribuenda est: quia licet omnes Christi actiones fuerint expiatoriae, non tamen sufficiebant, cum Deus disposuisset reconciliationem fieri et consummari in cruce."—*Ibid.*

⁸ Some of the Tridentine Fathers expressed the view that while the Last Supper was really an expiatory sacrifice, it was not, however, properly speaking, a redemptive sacrifice. Thus to quote a few of them: "ALMERIENSIS: . . . Et aliquod sacrificium est expiatorium, sed non reconciliatorium, id est perfecte Deo nos reconciliat: aliud est reconciliatorium, quod valde nos Deo gratos reddit et reconciliat. Christus igitur obtulit se in coena in sacrificium, et opus Deo gratum fecit . . . Non sacrificavit autem sacrificium reconciliativum, quod factum solum fuit in cruce: sine sanguinis effusione non fit remissio, et Paulus dicit: Reconciliavit nos Deo per mortem ejus; id est Deus nobis reddidit, prout baptismus Christi ante ejus mortem. Fuit igitur expiativum ex natura sua, cum omnia Christi opera fuissent satisfactoria et valoris infiniti; sed Deus constituerat per crucem fieri perfectam reconciliationem mundi."—Cf. Theiner, *o. c.*, I, p. 89. "GENERALIS MINOR. CONVENT: . . . Neque fuit praeparatorium et initiatorium, sed vere expiatorium . . . non autem redemptorium cum redemptio sola (sic) facta sit in cruce."—*Ibid.*, I, p. 95. "GENERALIS S. AUGUSTINI: . . . Obtulitque Christus in coena expiatorie, non autem redemptorie, cum redemptio sola in cruce facta sit: obtulitque in ordine ad passionem futuram."—*Ibid.*

value of the Cross. If it had been the will of God, Christ could have satisfied the divine justice by that sacrifice as well as by the Sacrifice of the Cross. *De facto*, He did not.

ARTICLE II

SECOND OBJECTION: TIME-ELEMENT

Besides the above objection to the sacrificial value of the Last Supper, Bishop MacDonald further writes as follows: "Our Lord in the Supper was mortal and passible; in the Mass He is immortal and impassible. And so by a gulf as deep as death and hell, the death He underwent on Calvary and the hell He descended into after death, is the Supper divided and differentiated from the Mass."⁹ Fr. De la Taille expresses essentially the same view when he writes: "The double consecration would have been in the Last Supper, as it is in the Mass, a complete sacrifice, if before the slaying, it could have been taken to be the oblation of a victim already slain; which is impossible. Therefore it was only an oblation of the Victim to be slain. Pending the slaying, the Victim was not yet in the full state and condition of a victim. Consequently the sacrifice was not yet completed, till something more had happened, through which the Lamb was made an actual Lamb of sacrifice, a truly immolated victim. . . *Before* and *after* make an enormous difference in the Victim of the Cross; a difference which is bound to react in the prospective and retrospective offering; both of which must necessarily differ, as differs the fact of having been killed from the condition of one who has still to be killed."¹⁰

To this objection we might again answer first, that from our human standpoint it might seem impossible that the victim can not be in the Supper prospectively. On the other hand, if we look at it from the standpoint of God in Whom there is no time, Who sees not things as past, present and future, the difficulty does not seem so great.

At the time of the Last Supper, Christ had not as yet died in the flesh, and it was becoming that He leave His last Testament, the New Covenant, in His blood before His bodily death. This He did at the Last Supper, and according to the language of the Scriptures, His Blood is spoken of as having been already shed,

⁹ *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, p. 122.

¹⁰ *Reply*, pp. 14-16.

His Body as having been already broken, since the ultimate realization of what He speaks, was, as it were, accomplished before His very mind. His victimhood did not depend on a contingent and hypothetical will that might at any time be frustrated, for God foresaw the actual Sacrifice on the Cross and had accepted it as such. It was just as certain in its futurity as it is now in its past actuality. Hence, when it came time for Him to die, He anticipated the Sacrifice of the Cross, to seal the New Testament with His Blood. At that very moment the New Testament became effective; the sacrifices of the Old Law became ineffective and were superseded by this new sacrifice of the Lamb of God. The Old Testament, which was formerly the agreement between God and His people, depended on hypothetical and contingent wills and was not effective until it had been accepted and sealed by the people by means of sacrifice. The reason was, that from the time it had been given to Moses until the time when the people were willing on their part to accept it, it could have been frustrated by them. With Christ, however, no such thing could happen that might force His withdrawal before accomplishing that which was in the mind of God and foreseen by Him as actual from all eternity.

We might illustrate with a few examples from Holy Writ, where things inevitable, foreseen by God as actual, are spoken of as going on now, though in time they took place centuries after. Concerning the Virgin Birth, the prophet sees it as actually transpiring. "Behold a virgin is pregnant and is bearing a son." The prophetic writer in a moment of vision and prophetic anticipation clearly sees all that will take place, but he visualizes it in such a vivid fashion that what will require more than seven hundred years to be fully realized, appears as present to him and about to transpire shortly. God foresees the predestined as adopted sons and co-heirs of Christ for all eternity, yet while they are here below they can hardly be called co-heirs with Him in His celestial glory. Christ, then, could say truly in the prospective sacrifice that His Body is broken and His Blood shed at the Last Supper, for in the divine mind the thing had already taken place and needed but to be effected in time. This would infallibly follow. If we put the barrier of time between the Supper, the Cross and the Mass, then the objection has some weight; but God did not see it as such, for there is no time in God.

At the Last Supper as in the Mass, there was a true, sacramental

shedding of blood. Christ was under the species sacramentally, and what was denoted by the words of consecration was actually there, namely His Body was under the species of bread and His Blood was under the species of the wine. The reason why the sacrifice of the Mass is the same as the Sacrifice of the Cross substantially, without a new death of Christ, is the same as the reason why the sacrifice of the Supper is substantially the same as that of the Cross. Namely, Christ is the Victim and the Priest and the sacrificial action is identically the same, differing only modally as we shall see further on. There was an accidental difference between the victim in the Supper and in the Mass, namely, in the former, Christ had not as yet actually suffered in time, whereas in the Mass, the victim has suffered. We think that tearing down the barrier of time which hampers our mode of seeing things when compared to God's, makes the question sufficiently clear. Moreover, we might ask, if it is not true, that God foresaw from all eternity the death of His Son, and that Christ at the Last Supper saw it so vividly, and applied it as an already accomplished fact, how is it that St. John can call Him in Apoc. XIII, 8: "The Lamb which was slain from the beginning of the world"? The explanation lies in the fact, that from the beginning of the world, yea, before, before all time, before anything was created at all, Christ was killed from eternity; that is, He was decreed to be killed, foreknown as killed and, as it were, predestined to be killed. It was decreed from eternity, proposed to the men of all ages in order that they might believe and hope in it, and gain through it the remission of their sins. In like manner, the Apostle says, that God *gave* to us, that is, decreed and predestined, His grace before the ages of the world. Christ was a Priest from all eternity, in the incarnation, in the nativity, on the Cross, not only in Heaven but on earth, during life, and after death. He offered one sacrifice for our redemption, but this does not exclude the fact of His offering before His death and even after the resurrection.

The Last Supper anticipates the Passion as already accomplished. This was done by an internal æt, represented in the effect, although the external effect had not as yet taken place. From the moment of His conception, we have already remarked, Christ had within Himself the merit of the Passion in so far as He had accepted it and offered it to His Father. In that internal acceptance consists the principle reason of merit. Since then, the

Passion was accepted by Christ and the Father, and by this internal act, Christ, could anticipate that one bloody satisfactory oblation on the Cross at any time during His life. It is not repugnant, that as an eternal Priest He sacramentally offered this one Sacrifice on the Cross, before it actually took place. In it, there was a real, though sacramental shedding of blood as in the sacrifice of the Mass.

We admit that there is a difference in the victim before and after the sacrifice from our standpoint, but not from the standpoint of God. This difference whatever it may be, is not a substantial difference; Christ is substantially the same *before, during, and after* His Passion on the Cross. There does not seem to be a tremendous difference before and after the killing, nor does there seem to be a depth of separation between the sacrifices, as deep as the hell into which He descended after the Passion. Even the glorified body of Christ that is now impassible, was not substantially different from the passible, mortal body that He had at the Last Supper. There is only an accidental difference in the sacrifice that He offered. We might take for an example, Jephte's daughter. If her father actually sacrificed her life, then before he did so, he could have represented this sacrifice before the actual slaying, and after the death he could annually represent it. But in neither of these cases could it be compared to the Supper and the Mass. First of all, it was not accepted by an internal act of a divine person, and depending on mere human intention, it was not already portrayed and accepted. The retrospective sacrifice would be nothing in comparison to the Mass, for there could not be an actual, sacramental shedding of blood as in the Mass. In the Supper and the Mass we have Christ, the Victim, Who actually died on the Cross, but unlike other victims, the body in which He suffered was not to remain dead forever or until the general resurrection. It was soon to arise and be glorified. Hence, there seems to be no difficulty in Christ offering a prospective sacrifice and a retrospective sacrifice of the one oblation on the Cross. At Emmaus, He seems to have reenacted the scene, of the Last Supper, in part, at least. "He took bread, blessed, broke and gave to them" (Lk. XXIV, 31). In this action they recognized Him. The disciples recognized Him in this, so they must have been present at the Last Supper. If He offered the Mass, or reenacted the Supper, there was no substantial differ-

ence in the sacrifices. If Christ celebrated the Eucharist here, as many claim He did, then the body which He gave was the identical, substantial body that He gave at the Supper. The body would be present in either case, *per modum substantiae*, and not circumscriptively. The actual substance of the body of the victim would be the same in either case. Hence, where the victim is present in two sacrifices, *per modum substantiae*, we hardly think that the circumstances of the slaying in time alters matters very much. The rising sun of the Cross can throw its shadow *both before*, to the prospective sacrifice, and *after*, to the retrospective sacrifice, and that is what we hold as regards the shadow of *merit*, since the Cross was decreed and accepted as the perfection of the merit gained by Christ while on earth. Christ at the Supper, Christ on the Cross, Christ in Heaven, is the same substantial Christ, circumscriptively present in all three cases. Under the sacramental species at the Supper and in the Mass, He is present *per modum substantiae*.

The last wish of a father in a testament does not receive a substantial change by passing under the seal of the court. So also with the victim; he receives no substantial change in our case by sealing the testament on the following day. The testament was made in His blood due to the internal acceptance of Christ; hence we can not say that the covenant has any more binding force after the Sacrifice of the Cross than it had at the Supper. The seal is only externally placed on it. The fact is, if the Crucifixion never took place, from our standpoint, the testament would never have been valid, for as St. Paul says: "If Christ be not risen, then our faith is in vain." At the Supper, Christ was the victim, *in fieri*; on the Cross, *de facto*. Now He is the Victim *sacramentally*, or, *post factum*. Taking away the barrier of time, to God from all eternity, these things would be seen as already accomplished; hence Christ, too, could have anticipated His actual slaying at the Supper.

SECTION IV

THE MASS

The commandment which Christ gave to His Apostles at the Last Supper finds its realization in the unbloody sacrifice of the Mass. This is of its very nature (1) a representation; (2) a commemoration; (3) a renewal or repetition of Calvary; and (4) an application to mankind of the redemptive merits of the one only Absolute Sacrifice, namely that of the Cross. Tradition, both patristic and scholastic, not infrequently styled this sacramental offering, as the figure, the representation, the symbol, the image, the sign, the sacrament of the Passion, and the sacrificial death of Christ on the Cross.

Concerning its intrinsic nature, however, tradition, up till the sixteenth century furnishes us with but little information. The sacred writers spoke indeed of the Eucharist as a sacrifice but only incidentally, since they never attempted to analyze directly or to determine specifically in what the sacrificial act consisted. This is not at all surprising, for the history of dogma frequently shows that doctrines are never fully or definitely formulated until their truth is brought into question. Therefore, when Protestantism had openly rejected this fundamental truth of the Church, it became imperative in the Catholic counter-reformation to investigate deeply the relationship between the Sacrifice of Calvary and that of the Mass. The results of that investigation are embodied in the first two chapters of the twenty-second session of the Council of Trent. Four of the principal canons which were formulated in this session, and which reflect the Catholic doctrine of the Mass, read as follows:

Canon I: "*Si quis dixerit, in Missa non offerri Deo verum et proprium sacrificium, aut quod offerri non sit aliud quam nobis Christus ad manducandum dari. A. S.*" The Mass, therefore, is a true and proper sacrifice.

Canon II: "*Si quis dixerit illis verbis: Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, (Lk. 22. 19; I Cor. XI) Christum non instituisse Apostolos Sacerdotes, aut non ordinasse, ut ipsi alique sacerdotes offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum: A. S.*" Christ, therefore, instituted a special priesthood for its celebration.

Canon III: "*Si quis dixerit, Missae sacrificium tantum esse laudis et gratiarum actionis, aut nudam commemorationem sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem propitiatorium:*

vel soli prodesse sumenti; neque pro vivis et defunctis, pro peccatis, poenis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus offerre debere: A. S." The Mass, therefore, is not only a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, but also a propitiatory sacrifice that may be offered for the living and the dead, etc.

Canon IV: "Si quis dixerit blasphemiam irrogari sanctissimo Christi sacrificio in cruce peracto, per Missae sacrificium, aut alii per hoc derogari: A. S." The sacrifice of the Mass, therefore, casts no blasphemy on the Sacrifice of the Cross.

After the promulgation of the above declarations, the Eucharistic Sacrifice engrossed the attention of Catholic theologians as never before, and all their efforts were immediately directed to explaining in what manner the Mass was a sacrifice, and in what the sacrificial action consisted. As a natural consequence of this, it is easily understood how in their zeal and enthusiasm to arrive at a correct concept of immolation or destruction, post-Tridentine theologians elaborated an ingenious series of theories concerning the essence of the Mass.

The Mass, we know, is both an absolute and a relative sacrifice. It is absolute in the sense that it is a true and proper sacrifice; it is relative, inasmuch as it depends on the Cross for its efficacy and power. On this account it necessarily includes within itself all the essential elements of both. It is not, however, the intrinsic relation which it bears to the Cross that formally constitutes it a sacrifice; it is the fact that it contains all the elements of a true sacrifice. Moreover, it is a sacrifice wholly peculiar, and of a high and mysterious order. One of its peculiarities consists in this, that the object sacrificed is offered under foreign or sacramental species, whilst in other sacrifices, the sensible objects are invariably offered in their own natural form. Another peculiarity lies in the fact that, in the Eucharist, the living, glorious God-man is the matter or object of the unbloody sacrifice, whereas living beings can be sacrificed only by the actual shedding of their blood. Consequently, a sacrifice of this kind is rendered possible only by Christ being offered as a living victim, not however, in His *natural form*, but under the symbolic envelopment of the sacramental species, or in other words, in His sacramental form. Hence, whereas Christ's immolation of Calvary was natural, that is, exhibiting features easily discernible by man's natural powers of knowledge, in the Mass, it can at the most be but sacramental. Bearing these observations in mind, we may now logically pass to our explanation of the transcendental problem of *how the mass is a true sacrifice*.

CHAPTER I

THE THEORY OF APPARENTLY REAL DESTRUCTION

ARTICLE I

CONSECRATION AND COMMUNION, THE SACRIFICIAL ACTION

There have been, as we have already had occasion to note, numerous theories concerning the Mass presented to the theological world at various times, which differed widely one from another in details, and even contradicted one another on essential points. It is hardly necessary to mention them individually, since every one will readily admit that there is hardly one of them that can be regarded as wholly satisfactory in coping with the many difficulties which naturally arise in the explanation of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. With this assurance we feel that there is still ample room for further speculation. Not that we wish to pose as theologians capable of untying the 'gordian knot' of this 'mystery of faith,' but encouraged by the example of past theologians, we shall venture to devise a modified solution of this old but ever fascinating problem, which we sincerely believe will not only be in harmony with the teaching of the Church, but also well enough founded as to merit consideration and not deserve offhand rejection.

To begin with we repeat that every sacrificial action necessarily involves two principal factors, namely, a *priest* and a *victim*. To the priest is reserved the office of offering the victim to be slain; to the victim is reserved destruction. Furthermore, the sacrificial action of the priest whereby the victim is said to be offered formally in sacrifice, is *internal* and *external*. The first of these directs the action exclusively to God's worship, whereas the second is its outward embodiment and symbolic expression which presupposes the internal act of the will as the determining factor whence it derives its unique and specific character. The first is reserved exclusively to the priest and is the *formal constituent* or *element* of the sacrificial action; but the second, we have seen, may even be effectively carried out by another, though always at the command and under the immediate direction of the priest; and this is the *material constituent* or *element* of the sacrificial action.

On Calvary, Christ was both Priest and Victim, and in the continuation or renewal of that selfsame sacrifice, He is still Victim and Priest. Hence, the sacrificial action of these sacrifices must needs be directly attributable to Him, even if with His own action there is intimately linked that of the executioners. In this case, such an action can only be said to be instrumental, for He alone is the principal offerer of His sacrifice, since the internal act of offering, we have seen, is the essentially sacerdotal act. On the Cross the act of slaying was formally willed and included in His internal sacerdotal offering, and in this manner was directly referred to Him. These two elements, *destruction* and *intention* coalesced into one complete sacrificial act; *destruction* was the *material element*, whereas *intention* was its *formal element*.

Now from the fact that the Mass is not a mere image of that one Sacrifice, namely, that of Calvary, but the selfsame, though mystic,¹ or differing only in the manner of offering as Trent expresses it,² then the Mass, too, must necessarily contain these two elements, *intention* and *destruction*.

Moreover, the Mass is literally a repetition of (1) what Christ did at the Last Supper, and (2) what he commanded to be done. We know for certain that what Christ did there was to consecrate; and what He commanded to be done was to consecrate and to partake of the consecrated species. "This do for a commemoration of Me. . . For as often as you shall eat this bread, or drink this chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until He come."³ For this reason it seems to us highly probable that the *consecration* and the *communion of the celebrant*, constitute, as it were, the sacrificial action of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.⁴ In both the Last

¹ Pope Leo XIII, in his Encycl., *Mirae charitatis*, 28, Maji, 1902, says: "In celebratione eucharistiae supremum in Calvaria Sacrificium admirabili modo renovatur . . . Missa quae mortis ipsum (Christi) non inanis quaedam nudaque commemoratio, sed vera et mirabilis, quamquam incurta et mystica renovatio est."

² Conc. Trid. Sess. XXII.

³ I Cor., XI, 24, 26.

⁴ St. Alphonsus calls this theory the more probable one. Cf. his *Theol. Mor.*, lib. VI, p. 131, Mechliniae, 1852. Among other adherents of this view, the following may be mentioned: Bellarmine, *De Missa*, I, c. 27; Card. De Lugo, *Disputationes scholasticae et morales de sacr. in genere, de venerabili Euch. sacramento et de ss. Missae sacrificio*, disp. XIX, sect. V. n. 64 ff. and sect. VI, n. 83, Lugduni, 1636; Hermann, *Instit. dogm.*, II, n. 1669, Romae, 1908; Aertnys, *Theol. mor.*, II, n. 109., quaer. I°, Tornaci, 1890; Marc, *Instit. mor. alph.*, II, n. 1589, Romae, 1886; Tournely, *De Euch.*, qu. 8, art. 2, concl. 4; Melchior Cano, *De locis theol.* lib. XII, cap. 13, ad 4; Salmanticensis, disp. XIII, dub. II, n. 29; Desmet, in *Coll. Brugen.*, XVII, 1912, p. 702, n. 4; L. D. Ridder, in *Nouvelle Revue Theol.*, XXV, 1903, p. 440.

Supper and the Mass this action is the very same. There it was instituted; here in virtue of the prototype it is still operative, being perpetuated forevermore by the same external Highpriest "until He come."

ARTICLE II

CONSECRATION, THE FORMAL CONSTITUENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL ACTION

On the Cross it was Christ's inner *will* to die that constituted the *formal constituent* or *element* of His sacrificial act. "No man taketh (My life) from Me, but I lay it down of Myself; and I have power to take it up again."⁵ "He was offered because He willed it."⁶ He willed once to die, and this will endures forevermore.⁷ This element eventually found exterior and symbolic expression in His voluntary subjection to a cruel death by *destruction*. Such being the case, the Eucharistic Sacrifice must necessarily contain that same element, since it is essentially one and the same sacrifice as that of the Cross.

In the Mass, the sacrificial action begins, when Christ in virtue of the words of consecration, is really made present under the sacramental species of bread and wine. By this act of transubstantiation, Christ, as it were, renews His will, offering Himself up to a voluntary and subsequent sacramental destruction in commemoration of His bloody death on the Cross. Remembering that the Sacrifice of Calvary is, and will ever be operative in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in the latter, therefore, there can not be another new sacrificial action or offering, but simply the renewal of His omnipotent and everlasting will. By consenting to become present under sacramental species, Christ renews His intention to offer Himself to sacrifice. Hence, just as on the Cross, the formal constituent of His sacrifice consisted in His voluntary oblation of Himself, so also here under the sacramental species do we find a real, actual *renewal* of that *selfsame will*, which is eternal and efficacious. For this reason we say that the *consecration* is the *formal constituent* or *element* of this sacrifice, inasmuch as it is a *renewal* of the

⁵ John, X, 18.

⁶ Isa., LIII, 7.

⁷ Concerning Christ's ever durative will, Gillet remarks: "Mais le Christ prêtre et victime non plus ne meurt pas. Il n'a jamais rétracté l'acte volonté par lequel il s'est offert à son Père pour racheter les pechés du monde. Cette volonté demeure; elle est éternelle, ainsi que son humanité rédemptrice où se perpétue, comme un effet dans sa cause et la réalité et les mérites de sa passion."—*Les Harmonies Eucharistiques*, p. 100, Lille, 1914. Cf. also J. Rivière, *Un peu de théologie sur la passion du Sauveur*, in the *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique*, XII, p. 600, Paris, 1912.

essential characteristic of the Cross. It is the same Christ who by His omnipotent and creative word calls Himself into being through the ministry of His priests, and as such, renews His will to repeat His sacrifice in an unbloody or sacramental manner.

If the formal constituent of the sacrifice is to be found in the consecration, does it not follow that this is sufficient to constitute it a true and proper sacrifice? To this we answer, that had the will of Christ on the Cross been so ordained to have completed the redemption of mankind without the other complementary sacrificial element of sacrifice, which is destruction, then indeed, a renewal of it in the consecration would truly suffice. But in point of fact, such is not the case; for with the idea of offering up sacrifice, there is intimately, and, as it were, indissolubly linked as its accessory element, destruction, which serves as a sort of visible seal to the internal sacrifice.

But even granted that destruction is a necessary requisite for sacrifice, is it not probable that this element can be found in the consecration? We do not think so; for we can not see how it can portray the common notion which is ordinarily associated with destruction. For this reason we unhesitatingly incline to the view that the consecration, of its very nature, is not the liturgical portion of the Mass best suited to represent such an act. Consecration has no other immediate scope than to transubstantiate the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. Moreover, that the act of destruction must take place elsewhere in the Mass, rather than in the consecration, appears evident from the fact that a thing can not, ordinarily speaking, be destroyed before it is made present. In the case of Christ's Eucharistic Sacrifice, it is not at all probable that He is destroyed in the act of the substantial mutation of bread and wine, for it is altogether fitting and reasonable that He be recognized as a living God-man before we conceive Him as having been sacramentally slain by us. According to Trent, by the words of consecration Christ becomes *truly, really, and substantially* present together with the Godhead, and is there present in His entirety.⁸ Furthermore, according to this same council: "In this divine sacrament which is enacted in the Mass, the same Christ is contained and bloodlessly immolated."⁹ From the fact, therefore, that after the act of transub-

⁸ Conc. Trid. Sess. XII, *De Sanc. Euch.* Sac., can. I.

⁹ Conc. Trid. Sess. XXII, cap. 2.

stantiation takes place, Christ is present in all His humanity, it would naturally seem that the material act of immolation can only follow the act whereby He is made present; for if He is living, how can He be said to have been slain, and if He is not at least apparently slain, how can He be said to have been truly sacrificed?

By the words of consecration Christ merely makes present His whole body under two distinct species to indicate sacramentally, as it were, the manner in which He is about freely to lay down His life, namely, by destruction, which on Calvary was effected by the separation of the blood from His body, thus indicating realistically, the manner in which He once suffered death. But in no wise may it be concluded that by this act alone the Eucharistic Sacrifice is accomplished. "This is My body," Christ said at the Supper, "which is given for you," that is, 'which I offer to God in your behalf and which is to be presently consumed by you in an anticipatory sacrificial representation of My bloody death which I am about to undergo on Calvary.' "This is My blood of the New Testament," He continues, "which shall be shed for many unto the remission of sins," that is, 'the body which I have just offered, is to be destroyed by the loss of what, to all appearances, is contained in this chalice, namely, My blood. And by this offering of mine, to be in reality consummated by destruction as herein represented by these two distinct sacramental species of bread and wine, shall the sins of mankind be remitted forevermore.' If, therefore, the chalice contained only the Blood of Christ and not His Body also, then indeed could we rightly say that the separation of this element from His body constituted the essential sacrificial act destined to make the Mass both an absolute as well as a relative sacrifice. But such is not the case; for it is ever substantially one and the same Christ who in virtue of natural concomitance, is present in His entirety under the two separate species, which of their very nature are destined to be consumed, and thus outwardly seal the intention of the offerer, and thereby commemorate the bloody sacrificial enactment of Calvary.

ARTICLE III

COMMUNION, THE MATERIAL CONSTITUENT OF THE SACRIFICIAL ACTION

Having rejected consecration as the act wherein the destruction-element is realized, the question naturally arises, what portion of the Mass is best calculated to represent it? To us there is no

simpler answer than that contained in the text of the Apostle where he says in I Cor. XI, 26: "For as often as you shall eat this bread and drink the chalice you shall shew the death of the Lord, until He come." In this passage, St. Paul teaches that, by the consumption of the Body and Blood of Christ, the death of the Lord is shown. Consequently, his testimony bears out conclusively, that the destruction of the sacramental species of its very nature is destined to portray vividly both the absolute and relative character of the material element of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, since the *death* of the Lord is to be *shown* by this external act "until He come."

But it might be objected that if the Communion of the celebrant is an essential part of the sacrifice, then the Last Supper would have been a true sacrifice only on condition that Christ had given Communion to Himself as well as to His Apostles.¹⁰ Now whether or not Christ Himself actually partook of the Eucharistic Species, is, we admit, a point which is open to dispute. A number of theologians are of the opinion that He did not;¹¹ while others affirm that He did.¹² This latter view we hold to be the more probable. The Apostles, we have seen, were commanded to do what Christ did, and since what they do is to offer and partake of the sacred species, it follows logically, that Christ also must have partaken of them, unless perchance we wish to admit that the Apostles did something which was not in reality done by our Lord. But this seems impossible, or at least highly improbable. And what is more, the assertion that Christ partook of the sacred species appears doubly certain when we realize that such an act was in perfect harmony with an ancient custom obtaining among the Jews. Jesus was instituting a new sacrifice based radically on the paschal celebration of the Old Law in which it was customary for the head of the family to first taste of the chalices before he gave them to the others to drink.¹³ This would be reason enough to suppose that Jesus, who was the Offerer of His own sacrificial banquet must have partaken of it together with His Apostles. This fact seems to be further confirmed in a passage of Sacred Scripture where Christ says expressly that no longer will He drink

¹⁰ Cf. Pohle-Preuss, *The Sacraments*, II, p. 34 ff. St. Louis, 1922.

¹¹ Cf. Knabenbauer, *In Matth.*, t. 2, p. 437; Paris, 1922; *In Marc.*, p. 378, Paris, 1907.

¹² Cf. Goguel, *o. c.*, pp. 80, 81.

¹³ Cf. Goguel, *Ibid.*, *l. c.*

of the fruit of the vine until the day when He shall drink it anew in the kingdom of God.¹⁴ As these words were spoken after the Last Supper had already been enacted, they may be rightly taken as an acknowledgement, or at least as an insinuation, that Christ Himself also partook of the Eucharistic Chalice. But even granting that Scripture does not expressly record this fact, it would not necessarily follow that it did not actually occur. Scripture does not pretend to record all the happenings and events in Christ's life. It leaves many which may be implied tacitly. Then again, there are others which are not even implicit, but which nevertheless are historically true despite the fact that they are not found registered in Scripture. What the sacred writers often left unsaid is oftentimes supplied by tradition. In the present case, tradition literally abounds with explicit testimonies of both the Greek and Latin Fathers who testify that Christ was a partaker of His Last Supper. Among the many who might be enumerated as bearing witness to this effect, we shall only mention Irenaeus,¹⁵ Eusebius of Caesarea,¹⁶ Chrysostom,¹⁷ Hesychius,¹⁸ Euthymius,¹⁹ Theophylactus,²⁰ Dionysius,²¹ Cyprian,²² Jerome,²³ and Hilary.²⁴

But even granted (*sed non concessio*) that Christ did not partake of His sacrifice, it would not, *eo ipso*, follow that the Last Supper was not a true sacrifice. In this supposition, Christ would still remain the principal offerer of His sacrifice, and the Apostles would automatically become its secondary ministers, in the same way as happens in the Mass; with this difference, that whereas at the Last Supper Christ offered in person, here in the Mass He offered by the ministry of His priests, expressly ordained to perpetuate till the end of time this memorial sacrifice.

If Communion, therefore, contains the act of destruction requisite for sacrifice, how can this element be said to be verified therein? What is the nature of the destructive act that it involves? To this we answer that only that destruction-element is required

¹⁴ Cf. Matth., XXVI, 29; Mk., XIV, 25.

¹⁵ Cf. *Adv. Haer.* 5, 33, 1.—P. G. VII, 1212.

¹⁶ Cf. *De Solemnitate Paschali*, 5.—P. G., XXIV, 700.

¹⁷ Cf. *In Matth.*, hom. 82, n. 1.—P. G., LVIII, 739.

¹⁸ Cf. *Lev.* 8, 23–24.—P. G., LXXXIII, 883.

¹⁹ Cf. *In Matth.* 26, 28–29.—P. G., XCH, 669.

²⁰ Cf. *In Matth.* 26, 29.

²¹ Cf. *Eccl. Hierarchia*, c. 3, n. 3. ¶ 1.—P. G., III, 428.

²² Cf. *Ep.* 63, n. 7.—P. L., IV, 379.

²³ Cf. *Ep.* 120, c. 2.—P. L., XXII, 986.

²⁴ Cf. *Comment. in Matth.* c. 30 n. 2.—P. L., IX, 1065.

which in the popular belief, is *regarded* as *actual* or *real*. The destruction involved in the consumption of the sacred species by the celebrant, is, we say, *apparently real*, in contradistinction to any mystic or moral destruction. It is not, therefore, real, in the sense that the Body and Blood of Christ suffer or permit any real change or transformation, for this is impossible as the Apostle tells us: "Christ rising again from the dead, dieth no more. Death shall no more have dominion over Him."²⁵ Nevertheless, it is real in the sense that the sacramental species are actually transformed or destroyed, inasmuch as they cease by their destruction any longer to contain the Body and Blood of Christ. If we admit the possibility of their destruction, then we at the same time admit the possibility of a *sacramental destruction* of the Body and Blood of Christ as a fitting representation of His bloody Passion on Calvary. Christ is present under the sacramental veil of the Eucharist; this no Catholic will deny. Hence, if Christ is actually present on the altar, then there must also come a time when His presence ceases, that is, when the appearances of bread and wine are so changed or destroyed as no longer to be recognizable as such in the common estimation of men, a phenomenon which occurs only at the communion of the celebrant. In common parlance we are accustomed to speak of the destruction of a visible object, whenever by an outward destructive act, there remains nothing but its ultimate residue. So in a somewhat similar manner, in the case of Christ's Eucharistic Presence, when the material accidents under which He is supernaturally concealed, cease to exist, then His presence automatically ceases and His body may be said to be *destroyed sacramentally*.

It can not, however, be validly urged against our contention that for an apparently real destruction, the substance of the victim offered must be in reality affected. No, for the judgment of the reality of a destructive act is not formed by the way the substance is acted upon, since the substance of a thing, is, in itself invisible, but rather by the manner in which its accidents are visibly affected. Our mode of viewing things is the ordinary human way, wherein to our senses, actual destruction takes place, for we do not stop to reason with the scrupulous exactitude of the

²⁵ Rom., VI, 9. "Non autem potest dici ipsius corpus Christi verum frangatur: primo quidem, quia est incorruptibile et impassibile: secundo quia est totum sub utroque specie . . . Est contra rationem ejus quod frangatur."—St. Thom., *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 77, a. 7, c.

physicist, but merely in accordance with the report of the natural senses and faculties. Thus for example, in the destruction by fire, of any physical object, can that thing be said to have been in reality destroyed? According to the law of indestructibility, it can not; for only apparently has destruction been affected. That which caused the object to cease being that which it was originally, was the dissolution of its constituent elements by fire. The ultimate constitutive elements, however, still exist, and should they at any time be readjusted, then we would have the object again in its original form. That which really takes place in what *appears* to us as destruction, is simply a change in the mode of existence of the object's constituent atoms. So in the case of the Eucharistic Presence; granted that the substance there present is Christ's Body and Blood under the material species of bread and wine, it follows naturally that by changing their mode of atomic existence, the substance of Christ's Body, though not in reality destroyed, thereby ceases to exist under that particular state, that is, sacramentally. In this manner there is affected what to every one *appears* a *real destruction* merely because the substance of Christ's Body and Blood is no longer perceptible in its original state under the accidents of bread and wine.

Nor can it be further urged that because on Calvary the shedding of blood was actual and real, in the Mass it must also be the same. On the contrary, this is impossible; for although according to Trent, the Mass is one and the same as Calvary, still it differs from it '*diversa offerendi ratione.*' Hence, whereas the former was offered in a *bloody* and *natural* manner, the latter by its very nature, can only be offered in an *unbloody* or sacramental manner according to the philosophic adage: '*operatio sequitur esse.*' On Calvary, Christ was present in His own natural species; hence, His death was necessarily *natural* and *bloody*. In the Mass He is present only under sacramental species and therefore His death can at the most only be *sacramental* and *unbloody*. In both instances, destruction affects the respective species under which He exists. Therefore, it is quite natural, that on the Cross the destruction should be real, that is, exhibiting features which are easily perceived by our human powers of knowledge, while in the Mass it is real, only in so far as the species undergo an external change or transformation without, however, affecting His impassible and glorified body.

But from the fact that Communion is also given to laics some one might object that they, too, must be regarded as offering sacrifice.²⁶ Such, however, is not the case, since the offering of sacrifice is reserved exclusively to a legitimately appointed minister, who in the present instance is the priest, and he alone.

And lastly it might be further urged against the above theory, that since the Eucharistic Sacrifice is offered in the person of Christ, and as the consecration alone is made in His name, it would therefore seem that this act alone constitutes the whole essence of the sacrifice. To this supposition we answer that, as Christ is the principal offerer of this sacrifice, it is only natural to regard the consecration as the action wherein is to be found its formal constituent. Indeed, in the aforesaid explanation, we have done no less ourselves, since we located the formal constituent of the sacrifice in the voluntary renewal of Christ's intention once made on Calvary to lay down His life in sacrifice. We merely denied that destruction took place in the consecration. We chose to locate it in the Communion of the celebrant since it would seem that this act is best adapted to convey the popular notion of destruction. This does not mean, however, that Christ no longer remains the principal offerer of the sacrifice simply because the act of destruction is effected by the secondary priest and not by Christ Himself. On the Cross, the destructive act was the work of the Jews carried out with Christ's permission; in the Mass, it is the work of the celebrant, Christ's own minister, and is performed in virtue of the command given at the Last Supper to the Apostles and their successors. As the priest represents sinful mankind, and as such, is guilty in the eyes of God, he is therefore, in a certain sense, best suited to represent the cruel executioners of Calvary. At any rate, it would be wrong to attribute such an action directly to Christ.

Having given expression to our view of how the Mass is a sacrifice, we may now briefly sum it up as follows. The Sacrifice of Calvary, we have said, was composed of two constituent elements: (1) Christ's free will to suffer death for mankind; and (2) His outward destruction by a bloody death. The first of these we regarded as the formal constituent, and the second, as the material constituent of the sacrifice. The Mass (and, *a fortiori*, the Last

²⁶ Cf. Vasquez, *Commentaria ac disputationes in III partem s. Thomae*, disp. 222, cap. II, n. 25, 26.

Supper), we further pointed out, is a perfect copy and representation of Calvary, and therefore must contain its two essential constituents. We then concluded that the consecration supplied the formal constituent, and the communion of the celebrant, the material constituent.

This theory, we think, is quite acceptable on account of the popular and easy explanation that it presents. It does not force us into the realm of metaphysics to search for an act of destruction, for it explains it in a way that is easily perceptible by the senses. In this manner, it conforms with the declaration of Trent that the sacrifice of Christ is "visible, such as the nature of man requires."²⁷ It is, therefore, easy of comprehension, it satisfies human reason, it appeals to the ordinary Christian, it is obvious and natural, and sufficiently fulfills the demands of the Church. Consequently, for these reasons we believe it to be commendable.

²⁷ Conc. Trid., Sess. XXII, cap. I.

CHAPTER II

HOW THE SACRIFICE OF THE NEW LAW IS ONE

Closely related to the questions already discussed, is the vital and no less interesting question which regards the oneness or unity of the New Testament Sacrifice. It is not only important, but it is equally difficult and vexing, for it has been a stumbling block to post-Tridentine theologians who have ever been seeking a satisfactory solution. By the Passion and death of Christ, mankind, we have said, was objectively redeemed. It was the one, all-perfect and complete sacrifice, or in other words, it was the one absolute mode of the one absolute sacrifice. Moreover, it is of faith that the Mass, too, is a true and proper sacrifice. How, then, in the face of these facts, is the identity of the Mass to be reconciled with Calvary without diminishing the all-sufficiency of the latter? And then, too, since the Last Supper is the perfect prototype of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, which in virtue of Christ's command is to be repeated forevermore, how is its identity with that of the Cross to be established? Can we, therefore, logically maintain that there is in the New Law only *one* sacrifice, or are we perchance constrained to admit *two* or *three* sacrifices or even more, although the Apostle Paul and all Tradition unanimously and unequivocally predicate only one?¹ This in fine, is the nature of the ultimate problem confronting us, and for which we shall presently offer what we deem a satisfactory solution.

Now, whether or not the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass are to be considered substantially or numerically, and formally or specifically one and the same sacrifice, depends primarily and solely on the three constituents or elements that are necessarily involved in every true sacrifice. These are: (1) the victim; (2) the offerer; (3) the sacrificial action. With this uppermost in mind, we shall proceed to examine each of these essential constituents so as to be able to determine the nature of the identity which exists among the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass.

¹ Cf. Bishop MacDonald, *The Sacrifice of the Mass*, pp. 59-73, London, 1924.

ARTICLE I

ONE SACRIFICIAL VICTIM

With regard to the sacrificial victim, the Council of Trent explicitly states, that in the Eucharistic Sacrifice the victim is identically the same as that which was once offered on the Cross.² There on Calvary, Christ was offered with His whole humanity, that is, with His Body and Blood. On the altar, it is the very same God-man who is likewise sacrificed, for the Mass, too, is the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ. On the Cross, Christ offered Himself *in specie propria*; there as a living, conscious victim He permitted His executioners to put Him to death, accepting to His last breath freely, fully, and with infinite love, every suffering inflicted on Him till He consummated His bloody sacrifice. On the altar, it is the same victim who is offered in our unbloody sacrifice, only *in specie aliena*. Here the substances of bread and wine are transubstantiated into the Host of salvation; the sacramental species rendering the offering of Christ a visible sacrifice and forming the sensible, perceptible covering under which His body and blood are offered in an unbloody and sacramental manner, thereby renewing the surrender of His life which He once made on the Cross. The victim in each of these sacrifices, therefore, differs only *accidentally* or *modally*, that is, in a few of the inherent realities or modes consequent upon its constitution. The nature of these modes is such that they can not exist *per se*, and so do not, and can not affect their object essentially. But since an object is said to be numerically one and the same as another by reason of its primary matter being identically the same,³ it follows logically that, in Christ's twofold manner of sacrifice, we may, or rather we must say that, from the point of view that the victim in both cases is essentially the same, there is but *one numeric sacrifice*.

But besides the victim of sacrifice, there must also be, as we have likewise seen, a legitimate minister to offer it.

² Conc. Trid., Sess. XXII, cap. 2.

³ "Numero unum sunt quorum materia est una, nam principium individuationis est materia signata, . . . et haec unitas dicitur proprie individualis . . . Unitatis . . . et multiplicationis materialis primum principium est materia signata quantitate."—Hugon, *Cursus Philosophiae Thomisticae*, V, 2, pp. 98, 99, Paris, 1922.

ARTICLE II

ONE SACRIFICING MINISTER

Moreover, in addition to the fact that in both sacrifices, the victim is substantially the same, it is also of faith, that the sacrificing priest is identically the same on the Altar as He was on the Cross: "the same (i. e., Christ) now offering Himself by the ministry of priests, who then offered Himself on the Cross."⁴

In the Mass, it is ever the same Christ, Who, though invisible, makes the same offering, by means of a visible priest. In humble condescension to the words of the visible priest, Christ, as the invisible Highpriest, transubstantiates the elements of bread and wine into His Body and Blood, that is, He places His very Body and Blood, His very humanity in a state, whereby they are to be consumed sacramentally. In a certain sense, it may be said that in the Mass, Christ is dependent upon the ministry of His visible priests, though it is always He Himself Who is the principal and real Offerer of the sacrificial act; for to Him is reserved the primary and chief part in its celebration, whereas the visible priest merely acts as His living and free agent, performing as His instrument, though in a real manner, the sacrificial act at the altar.

From this it is manifestly evident that in both sacrifices the principal offerer is one and the same, and therefore the sacrifice under this aspect must also be said to be *numerically one and the same*.

ARTICLE III

ONE SACRIFICIAL ACTION

The Mass, we have noted constantly, is not a new sacrifice, or a sacrifice differing essentially from that of Calvary, but the repeated offering of that selfsame sacrifice once offered on the Cross. In both these sacrifices we have seen that the Victim and its Sacrificer are identically the same; but there is also required as the third essential constituent of any true and proper sacrifice, an action whereby the victim may be said to be *formally* and *materially* sacrificed. Apropos of this, Suarez writes: "Neque satis est, quod res oblata sit eadem, quia sacrificium non consistit essentialiter in re ipsa permanente, sed in actione circa illam; unde si actiones sint omnino diversae rationis, quamvis circa eandem rem material-

⁴ Conc. Trid. l. c.

iter versentur, erunt sacrificia diversa.”⁵ And indeed such is precisely the case, for strictly speaking, it is the sacrificial action that constitutes the sacrifice what it really is. Therefore, even if the priest and victim are one and the same, but the sacrificial action be different, then the sacrifice can not be called one and the same, for in reality they will be two sacrifices specifically different one from the other. For this reason, when eminent theologians like Card. Billot,⁶ Van Noort,⁷ Hurter,⁸ Pesch,⁹ and many others, deny the formal identity of the sacrificial action of the Mass with that of Calvary, they are naturally constrained to admit a specific difference between the two sacrifices. This view, however, does not appeal to us, for we are of the opinion, that the sacrificial action of the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass is essentially the same, and that therefore they are *specifically* or *formally* one and the selfsame sacrifice, besides being so *numerically* or *materially*.

The sacrificial action of any sacrifice, we observed, comprises two constitutive elements; first, *intention*, the *formal constituent*, and secondly, *destruction*, its *material constituent*. These two, when intimately associated, constitute the essence of the sacrificial action, and hence, of the very sacrifice itself. The formal constituent pertains exclusively to the priest, whereas the material constituent ordinarily belongs to the victim. In Christ's sacrifice, however, He Himself is both Victim and Priest, and for this reason these two actions are to be attributed to Him alone, even though the material execution of the second was divinely ordained to be performed visibly by others. Moreover, if this action is the same in both sacrifices, that is, bloody and unbloody, it would follow that its two constitutive elements must necessarily be the same in each of them. In our treatise of the Sacrifice of the Cross we placed its formal constituent in Christ's free-will offering of Himself to be sacrificed, while the material constituent found its fulfilment in His death brought about by His executioners. In the Mass, we located the same voluntary offering of Himself in the Consecration, while we found the destruction-element to be represented fittingly in the Communion of the celebrant, wherein the

⁵ *Commentaria ac disputationes in III partem d. Thomae de sacramento Eucharistiae et de sacrificio Missae*, in q. 83, a. I, disp. 76, sect. I, n. 6. (Ed. Vivès XXI), Paris, 1866.

⁶ *De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, I, p. 604, Romae, 1924.

⁷ *Tractatus de Sacramentis*, p. 324, Bussum, 1919.

⁸ *Theologie Dogmaticae Compendium*, III, p. 412, Oeniponte, 1908.

⁹ *Praelectiones Dogmaticae*, VI, p. 442, n. 916, Friburgi Brisgoviae, 1914.

sacramental species were, to all appearances, destroyed. Hence, in both sacrifices, the sacrificial action is identically one and the same. Then from the fact, that this action constitutes, as it were, its form, and since form by definition, is the intrinsic and specific determinant of a thing,¹⁰ according to the scholastic adage 'forma dat esse rei,' it follows as a most logical consequence, that the sacrifice of the Mass is not only substantially, but also specifically or formally identical with the Sacrifice of Calvary.

Nor can it be validly urged that when Trent declares the Mass to differ from Calvary '*diversa offerendi ratione*,' it thereby wishes to indicate implicitly that they are really two specifically different sacrifices, as Card. Billot concludes.¹¹ To all appearances, or to our mode of conceiving or speaking of things, they are two, but in reality and essentially they are only one, that is, in essence they are *simpliciter* one and the same. The seemingly two sacrifices (Calvary and the Mass), according to Trent, differ *only* in the manner of offering. They differ, it is true, but not in their inner essence or *simpliciter*, but only in accidental forms or qualities, that is, they differ *secundum quid* or *modally*. But these *modal* differences as such, can not be said to individualize the sacrifices specifically. As a matter of fact, they do not in the least affect the inner essence of the sacrificial action, for even if the Mass (or the Last Supper) is an unbloody sacrifice, still it is always essentially the same Blood of Christ that is offered, no less than it was on Calvary. Hence, the difference between the two is a difference *secundum quid*, that is, it merely affects their external mode of existence as perceived by our human senses, whereas in reality, they are absolutely one and the same in essence. Let us illustrate our point. Consider, for instance, a person at the age of seven, fourteen, and twenty-one. This person, *simpliciter*, is ever identically the same in all three stages. Still, we might also add that though essentially the same in its different modes or stages, never-

¹⁰ "Unum specie sunt quorum una est definitio; nam nihil proprie definitur nisi species, cum omnis definitio ex genere et differentia constat."—Hugon, *o. c.*, pp. 98, 99.

¹¹ Commenting on the Tridentine decree, Card. Billot concludes: "Aperta igitur consequentia est, non idem esse sacrificium missae et sacrificium crucis, sed aliud et aliud, et non solum numerice aliud, verum etiam specificè. Cum enim sacrificium in offerendo consistat, diversicata ratione offerendi, sacrificium etiam diversicetur necesse est. Proinde, si quae passim auctoritates oppositum dicere videbuntur, in eo sensu erunt intelligendae, in quo per sat communem metonymiam sacrificium pro re sacrificata seu victima oblata usurpari solet."—*De Ecclesiae Sacramentis*, I, p. 604.

theless this person is said to differ in certain accidental or *modal* respects, or, *secundum quid*.

Then again, consider for a moment, an ordinary electric bulb when it is lighted and when it is unlighted. Is the lighted bulb essentially the same as when it is unlighted? Indeed; and yet in a certain sense, it must be said to differ modally from when it is not lighted. In its essence, it remains the same under both aspects, only its external quality or mode of existence making it differ *secundum quid*. This is exactly the same phenomenon that is realized in the Sacrifice of Calvary and that of the Mass. They are not indeed two sacrifices specifically different. They are essentially or *simpliciter* one and the same, appearing outwardly as two sacrifices by reason of its two modes or aspects of existence, for existence as such does not constitute individuality, since it presupposes a subject that it actualizes. Therefore, since in the present sacrifice, Christ is the subject Who formally offers it in its twofold mode, it follows naturally that the sacrifice of Calvary is essentially one and the same as the sacrifice of the Mass, though differing, as we have said, *secundum quid* or *modally*.

On the Cross, Christ's mode of existence was natural; here in the Eucharist, it is sacramental. Consequently, the exterior action or material constituent of the sacrificial action, which manifests the interior expression of the will or the formal constituent, must naturally differ accordingly. *Inwardly*, the *formal constituent* is one and the same in both sacrifices; *outwardly*, however, the *material constituent* differs modally. On the Cross, Christ's exterior mode of offering must needs have been *natural* and therefore *bloody*, whereas in the Eucharistic Sacrifice it can not be other than *unbloody* or *sacramental*, for it is axiomatic in scholastic philosophy that '*operatio sequitur esse*.'

In conclusion, we may therefore say, that since the primary matter in these sacrifices is identical, it follows of necessity that *materially* they are one and the same numeric sacrifice. Then from the fact, that the sacrificial action of each sacrifice is essentially the same action of the Eternal Offerer, Who was the first to offer and Who still continues to offer, it results in addition, that they are *formally* one and the same specific sacrifice. Consequently, since priest, victim and action in each of the sacrifices are identical, their identity is both *material* or *numeric*, and *formal* or *specific*.

However, we have seen that the above conclusion is by no means the commonly accepted view of most modern theologians, the majority of whom reject the idea of a numeric identity or unity between Calvary and the Mass, on the basis, that the sacrificial action of each is formally different. But such an assertion is merely the logical outcome of their respective theories anent the formal constituent of the Mass. For since their theories involve a formal constituent in the Mass which differs from that of Calvary, it is only natural that they be forced to predicate a specific difference between the same. They do, however, generally admit a specific identity between the Last Supper and the Mass.

But we may ask, what about the identity of the Masses themselves? Are Masses specifically the same? Indeed, or else we would all be offering up specifically different sacrifices. Furthermore, are they likewise numerically the same? To this we answer, that since the Last Supper, Calvary, and the Mass are numerically one by reason of the principal offerer and victim, so here also must we predicate the same, since we find the same characteristics in each of them. In our common every day parlance, we are accustomed to speak of Mass as having been offered or celebrated by this or that priest. This arises from our natural way of conceiving and judging things; and so when the priest is seen as the principal figure throughout the sacrificial rite, it is only natural that to him be attributed, though improperly, the action of the sacrifice. In point of fact, however, he is merely the instrument by virtue of which, the principal agent, Jesus Christ, produces a supernatural effect by His own inherent power. Hence, considered from the viewpoint of the secondary offerer, namely, the visible priest, we must indeed affirm a difference between the sacrifice of one priest and that of another. In this respect, also, must the Mass be said to differ from Calvary. But we must always bear in mind that in reality the principal priest and the victim are ever numerically the same; and that, moreover, the formal and the material constituents of the sacrificial action are the same. Wherefore, properly speaking, Masses must need be ever numerically and specifically the same, differing only modally one from another.

The aforesaid method of explaining the oneness or unity of the Sacrifice of the New Law, we think, is quite satisfactory. It is simple, and does away with the necessity of having to conceive

the Last Supper as a preliminary stage or liturgical prerequisite of Christ's one and only Sacrifice. It, moreover, leaves the traditional teaching intact; or rather, it satisfactorily reflects the teaching of the Church, showing how Christ's sacrifice can be conceived as one sacrifice whether we view it either from a material or a formal aspect. In a word, it intimately links the Last Supper and the Mass with Calvary and brings out the proper relation that each of these three modes of Christ's one Sacrifice bears to the other.

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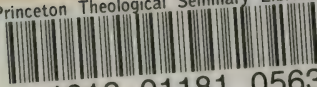
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